

**“The pursuit of a good life in a developing place:
a human-centred study among vulnerable migrants
in São Paulo-Brazil”**

PhD thesis

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Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Title: “The pursuit of a good life in a developing place: a human-centred study among vulnerable migrants in São Paulo-Brazil”

Aline Khoury

Abstract:

This thesis deals with the perceptions of migrants facing vulnerability about the changes in their lives after migrating to a developing context, especially in terms of their agency, fundamental rights and cultural liberty. It emphasises the need to focus more on the impacts of migration on the individuals migrating, and not simply on the impacts on the economies of their places of origin and destination. To further explore this human-centred dimension of migration, the thesis’ theoretical framework is grounded in Amartya Sen’s line of the Capability Approach (CA), adding some contributions from a rights-based approach (Benhabib, & Sassen) and a hybrid multiculturalist framework (Fry & Sansone) in order to advance the discussions on transnational rights and cultural rights raised by Sen and the CA. The context chosen to develop the research was Brazil owing to its contributions to both capability and migration studies, since its particular approach to transnational rights and to multiculturalism brings innovative ways to rethink current international debates in these fields. Following the theoretical framework indicated, the thesis analyses the main findings of a fieldwork with mixed methods (qualitative + quantitative) held with a hundred Latin American and African migrants temporarily living in two charity houses in São Paulo, addressing the key research question of how they perceive changes in their lives after having migrated, in terms of agency, basic rights and cultural liberty. Considering the main needs and difficulties observed during the fieldwork, the thesis concludes with policy recommendations to tackle these challenges.

Key words: South-South migration; multiculturalism; Capability Approach; migrants in Sao Paulo; mobility rights; cultural rights; agency; migration in Brazil.

This thesis is dedicated to the humans who could not complete the journey towards their idea of a good life.

“Beira do mar, lugar comum
Começo do caminhar
Pra beira de outro lugar
À beira do mar, todo mar é um
Começo do caminhar
Pra dentro do fundo azul
A água bateu, o vento soprou
O fogo do sol, o sal do senhor
Tudo isso vem, tudo isso vai
Pro mesmo lugar
De onde tudo sai”

(‘Lugar Comum’, Gilberto Gil)

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INTRODUCTION

Migration between developing countries has recently surpassed migratory flows towards the global North: so-called South-South migration accounts for at least 90 million people and has shown the fastest growth among migratory trends in the last decade (IOM, 2015; UNDESA, 2015). Still, the overfocus on migration crisis in rich Western countries obfuscates the increasing flow towards emergent nations, which lacks further analysis not only in demographic terms but also in sociological terms (Biavaschi, Facchini, Mayda & Mendola, 2018; Castles 2014; Ratha and Shaw, 2006). Furthermore, addressing migration presumes not only analysing the structural scale of global markets and communities of origin and destination, but also examining the individual scale of the migrants per se (Preibisch, Dodd & Su, 2016). Popular perspectives focusing on this individual scale follow an utilitarian influence (Borjas, 1990; Lewis, 1954; Todaro and Marusko, 1987) that sees migration choices as rational calculus aiming to maximise gains. However, this line lacks further analysis on at least three aspects that are crucial to understand this individual scale of migration: the agency of the individual when making the choice, which might influence behaviour and which might relate to dimensions beyond gains maximisation (Frediani, 2010); the perception the person has about her right to pursue a decent life (Benhabib, 2009); and the ideas the person has about her identities and how this affects her social relations and choices (Cuche, 2009).

Considering this scenario, the present thesis examines this individual scale of migrants in a developing destination, through a human-centred perspective focusing on their agency, rights entitlement and ideas of identity. The thesis theoretical framework is mainly based on Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) owing to its emphasis on the agency dimension, combined with human rights and hybrid-multiculturalism approaches, owing to their contributions to advance Sen's reflections on the dimensions of rights entitlement and cultural identity. The context chosen to develop this study is Brazil, since it brings particularly useful insights to understand the agency aspect in the choice to migrate to a developing destination; as well as a specific legal framework allowing migrants in vulnerability to claim for transnational rights in innovative ways; and finally, an unusual approach to diversity that contributes to rethink the idea of identities from traditional multiculturalist models. In order to examine this context, a fieldwork with mixed methods (major qualitative + minor quantitative) was held with 100 Latin American and African migrants facing socio-economic vulnerabilities living in two charity houses in São Paulo. This city was chosen because it is the main destination of current migration in the country (CRAI, 2017) and the idea of 'vulnerable migrants' refers mainly to vulnerability in terms of income, shelter, employment and

access to services, which will be further explained in the methodology chapter. The main research question of this fieldwork was ‘How do migrants facing vulnerability in São Paulo perceive changes in their lives after migrating?’ - especially focusing on the agency aspect of their migration choice, on their ideas of rights entitlement, and on their social relations based on their ideas of identity. Taking into consideration the main findings of the fieldwork, the thesis also indicates policy recommendations in a human-centred framework to contribute to tackle the main difficulties observed.

The field of migration studies still lacks further analysis of the points addressed in this thesis. There is not enough literature dealing with migration from a capability perspective, especially in South-South migration, as highlighted by Preibisch, Dodd and Su (2016). Additionally, there is a lack of literature examining the impacts of the Brazilian particular approach to multiculturalism on the socio-cultural interactions of current migrants in the country (Campos, 2015; Sansone, 2003). Moreover, there are few policy guidelines for migration in Brazil following a human-centred perspective, addressing migration not in terms of management and surveillance, but in terms of inclusion and opportunities. Some of the policy prospects of the thesis’ final chapter were actually presented to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice to guide the new migration law in the country, as part of a work for the International Organization for Migration (also published by the this organisation in the last year of this PhD). This human-centred and rights-based approach to migration is particularly important in the current context in Brazil, with the predictions of a serious conservative and xenophobic shift when the elected candidate Jair Bolsonaro takes presidency in 2018.

Besides these practical contributions, the thesis will also bring reflections on three core dimensions that might advance the debate in the field. Firstly, it will present a deeper understanding of the multiple motivations behind migration beyond the anticipation of economic gains. It does that by analysing how many interviewees chose Brazil owing to specific reasons related mainly to broader opportunities and ideas of cultural openness, and not only because richer destinations in the global North were unreachable. Secondly, the thesis will demonstrate the importance to understand how migrants perceive their rights to have a decent life regardless of the place. It does that by showing how participants have been operating the flexibility of the Brazilian asylum system to claim for the right to remain in the country and to have basic socio-economic rights. Thirdly, the thesis will demonstrate the relevance of the ideas of identity and belongings in migrants’ social interactions. It does that by showing how the particular approach to diversity developed in Brazil allows a noticeable flexibility for migrants to interact through different groups, according to multiple identities and belongings beyond their national identity.

The thesis is divided in eight chapters, to be further described one by one below. The first chapter has a literature review to indicate the bodies of migration literature with which the thesis dialogues, followed by a presentation of the theoretical framework adopted by the thesis, justifying the basis on Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and the reasons for using contributions from a rights-based approach (Nussbaum, Saskia Sassen and Seyla Benhabib) and a hybrid multiculturalist framework (Livio Sansone & Peter Fry). The second chapter indicates the relevance of Brazil for the intended research and contextualises the case study. In the third chapter, the methodology for the fieldwork is described and justified, indicating how each part of the questionnaire addressed one of the thesis's subsidiary questions. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 discuss the key findings of the fieldwork. Chapter 4 focuses on the findings related to agency discussions, analysing interviewees' views about their migration choices and the concepts of freedom, autonomy and agency related to this. The fifth chapter analyses participants' main ideas about a good life and key capabilities related to these ideas. Chapter 6 addresses the fieldwork findings associated with rights entitlement, debating concepts of transnational rights and their implications. Chapter 7 focuses on the construction of identities and senses of belongings among migrants in the new host society, indicating new insights to rethink the dominant view on multiculturalism. In the eighth and last chapter, the main difficulties of the fieldwork are summed up and some important initiatives are indicated in these domains, following the human-centred perspective of the theoretical guideline. Finally, the conclusion sums up the main reflections and findings of the thesis, further explaining its potential contributions.

In the first chapter, an initial part indicates that much of the migration literature follows a binary between positive and negative impacts of migration, and that the thesis dialogues with the studies that go beyond this polarisation, arguing that both beneficial and detrimental impacts can be associated with migration depending on its scale and context. The chapter then adds that a large part of the literature overfocuses the impacts of migration on structural levels (especially on the economies of destination and origin), whereas strong attention is also needed in the individual scale of migrants themselves, since it captures personal experiences that are central to understand the migratory phenomenon. It is then explained that the most popular migration literature focusing on this dimension of individuals follow utilitarian views that consider migration choices mainly as strategies to maximise gains. The chapter underlines that this is not the guideline adopted in the thesis because such an approach overlooks important aspects, such as the agency the migrant has to make choices, his perceptions about his rights to pursue a decent life in a different place, and the way he operates his identities in the social interactions. Finally, the chapter explains that, in order to consider these key domains when examining the individual scale of migrants, the thesis adopts a theoretical framework mainly based on Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, since it

contributes to a further understanding especially of the dimension of agency, and also for the dimensions of rights entitlement and identity freedom. For these domains of rights and identity, it explains that Sen's CA will be combined with some contributions from the rights-based approach from Seyla Benhabib, Martha Nussbaum and Saskia Sassen, as well as those of hybrid-multiculturalism from Fry (2000) and Sansone (2003).

Key contributions for these three domains can be found in Brazil's migratory context, which is described in the second chapter. Regarding the analysis of agency in migratory choices, Brazil presents a fruitful case to examine the migrants' reasons to choose a developing destination like Brazil instead of a traditional richer destination in the global North, analysing how much freedom they had to make this choice. In respect to rights entitlement, this context allows to analyse how migrants have been strategically using the atypical flexibility of the Brazilian asylum system to claim for transnational rights. In regard to the identity dimension, Brazil's context presents an unusual approach to cultural diversity that allows us to think about new forms of identity and social interactions beyond the traditional multiculturalist models. To explain how these particularities were formed, Chapter 2 brings a historical contextualisation of migration in Brazil until current times, indicating how Brazil has been re-emerging as a migratory destination - a phenomenon normally explained by its expansion from the mid-2000s, as well as the increase of migratory restrictions in North America and Europe (CRAI, 2015; IOM; 2016). This contextualisation puts special light on the way diversity was treated throughout the 20th century in Brazil, building a very particular sense of identity that extrapolates the fragmentation in national groups observed in core migration destinations in the global North. It explains how the ideas of identities developed in Brazil bring fruitful insights to Sen's debates on multiculturalism, stimulating individuals to interact through several channels beyond the national group, according to other senses of belonging that the individual would have (such as groups related to religion, profession, age, gender, etc). It explains that such a sense of hybrid identity was stimulated to avoid ethnic fragmentation that could cause unrest, as well as a strategy to accelerate a whitening of the population after slavery abolition (Schwarcz, 2012; Seyferth, 2002).

In the sequence, Chapter 3 contextualises the case study in this general scenario of migration in Brazil, justifying the choices for the specific location and sample chosen for the fieldwork, in order to explain the methodological framework adopted. It then indicates the main research question that guided the study - "How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?", as well as the four subsidiary questions that support the pursuit of this answer, focusing on participants' agency regarding their migration choice as well as in their ideas of rights entitlement and their senses of identities in the main social interactions in the

new host community. The first subsidiary question is “How much agency did interviewees have on their migration choice and why did they choose Brazil?”, which was addressed by several questions concerning the specific reasons for choosing Brazil and the possibilities for choosing other destinations. The second subsidiary question focused on the individual ideas of a good life and on how migration has affected their capabilities to pursue it (divided in two parts, 2a: Which things they have reasons to value in what they consider ‘a good life’?, and 2b: How has migration affected the capabilities related to the things they have reasons to value?). The third subsidiary question addressed interviewees’ perceptions about their entitlement for transnational rights (3: How do they perceive their rights to have a decent life, regardless of the place?). The fourth and last subsidiary question dealt with the identity freedom mentioned - “How do participants perceive and operate their identities in the social interactions in the new city?”.

Based on these questions, Chapter 3 also indicates the research design of the questionnaire, explaining how each question dialogued with one of the subsidiary questions. It also explains the methodology adopted in the fieldwork, in a mixed-method blending major qualitative focus with some quantitative points, based on Hodgett and Clark’s (2011) fieldwork also done with migrants facing vulnerability in a capability-inspired framework. The questionnaire included a few close-ended questions regarding personal characteristics (gender, age, educational level, etc) and material circumstances (incomes, time spent in Brazil, employment conditions, access to services and related evaluation) - combined with several open questions regarding life stories, opinions and personal values. The suitability of mixed-methods for fieldwork with individuals in vulnerability is highlighted by Roelen and Camfield (2015), since the close-ended questions permit to gather quantitative data for identifying potential trends and making further comparisons, whereas the open questions allow to collect qualitative data with subjective perceptions and more detailed views about the situations observed. The quantitative data collected was analysed with Stata software in order to identify relevant recurrences or potential tendencies, and the qualitative data was analysed with Atlas T.i software to organise the subjective narratives within categories according to the most frequent topics.

The main findings of this fieldwork are analysed in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, according to the subsidiary questions (referring to agency, valued things and their related capabilities, rights entitlement and identity). The most relevant discoveries are presented in a combination of quantitative data (with graphs indicating tendencies, co-variances, frequencies, etc.) and qualitative data (with quotes from interviewees), alongside comments about relevant situations observed in the field, as well as references to related migration studies and capability studies. All findings are analysed through the theoretical framework presented in the initial chapter.

As Chapter 4 focuses on interviewees' agency in the migration choice, it uses Sen's emphasis on this agency dimension. In this aspect, the thesis shows how migrants have chosen Brazil not simply because richer destinations were not reachable, but also for specific motivations related to this country, especially in abstract terms such as broader opportunities, and an image of cultural openness. It demonstrates how the agency dimension was not just limited to rational calculations anticipating potential benefits, as some utilitarian views would expect. This section also proposes to see migrants' behaviour beyond the typical binary of either victims of structural constraints or self-sustained agents. Instead, it suggests a view of agency as a continuum with different dimensions of agency in times of constraints and opportunities, where individuals do actions and adaptations - a perspective inspired by Näre's (2014) view on agency within Sen's Capability Approach. In this continuum, individuals can develop their own capabilities and put them to use albeit with limited resources - meaning that having agency involves not only acting to change one's life, but also actively adapting to the existing situation. Such a tendency was frequently found among interviewees, who would acknowledge certain constraints, but would still take action to adapt to the situation according to their own values and aims, using migration to acquire new capabilities in this process.

Sen's CA is also the guideline for Chapter 5, focusing on participants' ideas of a good life and how migration has influenced their capabilities to pursue it. This section indicates that the things that interviewees had most reasons to value were mainly associated to work, being healthy, being educated, being independent and to enjoy one's family. It then examines the main aspects related to these dimensions in the place of origin and in their new lives in São Paulo, in order to identify how these dimensions might have changed after having migrated. In the spheres related to work, it examines interviewees' impressions about the autonomy and quality of their jobs in both places, as well as their subjective reasons to value 'to work' (such as 'having a mission', 'applying one's knowledge', etc.). Regarding 'being healthy', the section examines their use and evaluation of health services in the place of origin and in São Paulo, as well as the main changes in their habits related to health after migrating (such as exercise, meals, sleep and leisure/relaxation). In respect to 'being educated', the section analyses participants' access and evaluation of educational services in the place of origin and in São Paulo, as well as their knowledge about simple contents related to their routine (such as basic facts regarding the place of origin and Brazil and a simple percentage calculation) in order to explore further the quality of this education in content/informational terms. The evaluation of 'being educated' also included interviewees' comments about their reasons to value education beyond this content dimension, such as reasons related to learning moral values, socialising, practising discipline and respect, etc. The examination of 'being independent' included their comments on their levels of autonomy in their works in the

place of origin and in Brazil, as well as their perceptions about their free time in both places. Finally, the analysis of 'enjoy family' addresses participant's narratives about their relations with their relatives before and after migrating.

For Chapter 6, addressing interviewees' notions about their rights in the new host place, the CA line is combined with contributions from a rights-based approach associated to Sassen and Benhabib, which provides further insights in this domain. This section highlights that participants very often mentioned that they migrated because their place of origin could not provide basic socio-economic rights to which every person should be entitled, and therefore migration was a way to pursue these such rights - reflecting the increasing sense of international legal personality and transnational rights that follow the spread of human rights notions worldwide (Soysal 2012; UNDP, 2015). This section analyses how interviewees see their rights for a decent life regardless of the place, examining how they perceive this entitlement for basic socio-economic conditions based on their very humanity and not only in their nationality. In this domain, the section underlines the high value participants give to their rights to access public services and State support in Brazil as any national citizen - a context that brings interesting reflections to advance the debates of the CA about the universality of basic socio-economic rights, much in line with Sassen's suggestions about citizenship beyond nation-states model (2010) and Benhabib's ideas of new ideas of cosmopolitanism that also overcome such model (2009).

Subsequently, this section explains an unusual phenomenon in contemporary migration in Brazil where migrants facing socio-economic vulnerability have been increasingly requesting asylum as means to remain documented until they find a job granting a work visa - since the particular asylum system in Brazil allows the right for any migrant to at least request asylum. Most of them acknowledge that they are not eligible to asylum according to the formal criteria of the 1951 Cartagena Convention on Refugees (the main guideline for asylum grants in Brazil and worldwide). Still, they reinforce that they do come from backgrounds of severe economic vulnerability. Such a context brings fruitful insights to CA discussions on basic economic conditions as minimum rights. The section argues that their justification for 'socio-economic asylum' implies the idea that basic rights include not only political and civil liberties but also socio-economic rights. It reminds that, if lack of political and civil liberties hinders the pursuit of the life a person values (as recognised by the standard definition of asylum), so does a severe socio-economic deprivation - following the CA discussions in this direction. These individuals feel entitled to remain in a legal condition in Brazil in order to put in practice their rights to have a decent life (regardless of the place). The section highlights this increasing tendency to vindicate migration as legitimate means to realise minimum socio-economic rights to which every human being should be entitled, arguing that deprivation of

these rights can be as harmful as deprivations of fundamental rights, following Benhabib's arguments (2008, 2009).

The seventh chapter (the last one directly dealing with the fieldwork findings) deals with interviewees' ideas about their identities, and how they operate it in their interactions in the new society. It dialogues with Sen's discussions on identity formation and combines it with contributions from the ideas of hybrid multiculturalism from Sansone and Fry. The need for capability-inspired studies dealing with multiculturalism matters has been underlined by Hodgett and Clark (2011), and this section is another contribution in this direction. The section indicates the high frequency of interviewees' references to cultural diversity and hospitality as means to a deeper integration in the new host society, and how cultural openness was often highlighted among their ideas of Brazil before they migrated. It explains how participants have strongly valued the possibility to integrate through multiple channels beyond their national group, such as through groups related to their religion, gender, age or profession. This identity flexibility and multiple senses of belonging reflect the approach to diversity that has been developed throughout Brazilian history, as explained above, stimulating multiple channels for interaction beyond national and ethnic belongings - together with an idea of mixed national identity, instead of a mosaic of multiple cultures as in traditional multiculturalist contexts prevalent in the global North.

Such an approach to identity and diversity in Brazil dialogues with Sen's suggestions on this domain. Sen criticises the common practice of traditional multiculturalist frameworks to reinforce social interactions mainly through national and ethnic groups, since this does not respect the individual freedom to judge which identity to operate according to one's own preferences and aims in each context. Following this direction, this section suggests that the particular approach to diversity in Brazil brings fruitful contributions to think about new forms of interactions through multiple senses of identity. It argues that identity policies should not automatically follow the traditional multiculturalist approach as if it is generalisable, but take into consideration the specificities of each context. The section reminds that in some cases the emancipation of a subordinate ethnic group relies on its recognition and differentiation, but in other cases this emancipation can be achieved through initiatives addressing other identities of the individuals concerned, such as programmes for women, for certain neighbourhoods, for young people of low income, etc. Such a practice let individuals access services and interact through the various identities they would have, according to their own choice and judgement.

Finally, the main findings of the fieldwork and the main demands and challenges observed throughout the research in Brazil underline the policy prospects of the eighth and final chapter, which follows the human-centred perspective of the theoretical framework indicated in the initial

part. There was a need underlined by Campos (2015) for more studies on the field of Brazilian migration policy - and so this chapter fills this important gap, aiming to advance the debate in this direction too. The recommendations consider not only the demands underlined by interviewees, but also identified in the general observations in CRAI and Missão Paz charities (where interviews were held), as well as in several events gathering government representatives, NGOs, migrants' associations, international organisations and academics in this field. This final chapter starts with a summary of the key challenges identified throughout this process, which mainly relate to work opportunities, documentation barriers and bureaucratic difficulties. The chapter highlights the importance to consider migration beyond market demands, taking into consideration migrants' agency in the pursuit of the lives they value, their rights entitlement and their social interactions, following the key domains addressed in the thesis and the suggestions from Sen, Benhabib, Sassen, Sansone and Fry in these dimensions. Aligned with the Capability Approach, this chapter considers development beyond economic growth, seeing it as the expansion of the opportunities that individuals have to pursue the lives they have reasons to value. Initiatives for labour inclusion are predominant in this final chapter since it was pointed out by interviewees as the domain that most affects their lives in the new society. In this line, the chapter addresses the domain of work not simply according to market demands in Brazil, but prioritising the potentials of the labour dimension to impact the social inclusion of migrants more generally, as well as to enhance their autonomy to pursue what they consider a good life.

Addressing the main discussions of the thesis, this final chapter recommends initiatives for promoting the active role of migrants in the pursuit of what they consider a good life (dialoguing with the agency dimension addressed previously); for supporting their labour inclusion with full protection to their rights (linking with the rights domain analysed); and for boosting their social integration through multiple channels (dialoguing with the debates on identity freedom developed previously). Brazil is facing a particularly opportune moment for these recommendations, since the new migration law has just been approved but suffered some setbacks with the recent shift towards conservative tendencies not aligned with a humanised or rights-based approach. The main prospects of this chapter were presented to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice for the implementation of the New Migration Law, as part of a study for the International Organization for Migration published in 2017. This was an effort to bring the main demands indicated in the fieldwork to the attention of key stakeholders, as well as a struggle to propose a human-centred guideline to deal with migration as a matter of inclusion and opportunities.

CHAPTER 1

“A HUMAN-CENTRED FRAMEWORK TO EXAMINE THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION”

This chapter sets up the theoretical framework of the thesis, indicating the body of literature with which the thesis dialogues. Firstly, the chapter points out that much of the migration literature sets up an unsuitable binary between positive and negative impacts of migration, and that this thesis dialogues with the studies that go beyond such polarisation, considering that migration might bring both beneficial and maleficial impacts depending on the context and scale observed.

Secondly, the chapter indicates that a vast part of the literature over-focuses the structural impacts of migration - for instance on the economies of destination and origin - to the detriment of the impacts on the individuals migrating. It then underlines that the thesis dialogues with the body of studies focusing on migrants themselves, since this scale captures individual experiences that are crucial to understand the migratory phenomenon. Still, it explains that the thesis' focus on the individual is not the one suggested by neoclassical and utilitarian theories, pointing out the main deficiencies of these theories and how they overlook crucial points - such as an understanding of agency beyond rational calculus; the role of rights in the migration phenomenon; and the importance of the migrant's personal identities in this process.

Thirdly, the chapter underlines the contributions of the Capability Approach (CA) for this focus on the individuals migrating, since this approach gives special attention to the person's agency, as well as to her own values and expectations. The third section of the chapter explains the suitability of the CA for the human-centred analysis of the thesis.

Fourthly, the final section of this chapter indicates the importance of considering the dimensions of agency, rights and identity when examining this individual scale of the migrant¹. This leads to the presentation of the thesis theoretical framework to analyse these dimensions - mainly based on Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, combined with contributions from human rights approaches (Nussbaum, Benhabib and Sassen) and hybrid-multiculturalism approaches (Sansone, Fry).

¹ The whole thesis uses the word 'migrant' as a more generic/neutral reference to mobility independently from nation-state criteria for defining borders - instead of 'immigrant' and 'emigrant' terms that could reflect a division related to this criteria (IRC, 2018). This is a choice to reinforce the thesis's questioning of the current dominant notion of mobility based on the nation-state concept. This critical perspective of nationality and borders is further explained in the final section of the present chapter and especially in the fieldwork chapter within a section addressing transnational rights.

1.1- Going beyond binary views on the impacts of migration

A vast part of migration literature addressing the impacts of migration tends to binary divisions of 'positive' vs 'negative' impacts that are not enough to cover the complexity of the phenomenon, since these impacts often vary and blend. These effects might vary depending on the scale considered - as many migratory movements relate to negative impacts when one considers its structural dimensions (such as severe economic disparities, demographic imbalances, etc.), but also to positive aspects when one considers smaller scales (investments in basic goods for a household, educational qualification, etc.). Dominant theories in migration studies oscillated from optimism in the post-war period to pessimism - with 'brain drain' in the 1970s and 80s - then later on towards neo-optimistic 'brain gain' in the 90s and early 2000s (De Haas, 2012). With growing disappointment regarding migration policies recently, we start to see it swinging back towards more pessimistic views. Nevertheless, it would be more fruitful to put much more nuance to this debate of 'negative' versus 'positive' effects of migration, bringing this 'migration pendulum' towards the middle, such as proposed by De Haas (2012). Migration strongly depends on contextual factors with both negative and positive potentials that subsequent sections of this chapter will explore. Moreover, different theories are not mutually exclusive, and the analysis of certain cases might benefit from the insights of distinct perspectives. Some findings often overlap and authors should combine contributions from different approaches according to the needs of the context examined.

The optimistic views follow mainly neoclassical migration economy (Corry, 1996; Harris and Todaro, 1970, Ranis & Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, & Scacciavillani, 1996) and/or developmentalist modernisation theories (Daugherty, 1995; Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, 2009). Notwithstanding some differences between neoclassical and developmentalist views – particularly the stronger role that developmentalists attribute to the State – they both believe that migration has mainly a positive impact on the development of sending areas. In the opposite direction, the more pessimistic views follow mainly a structuralist social theory, including neo-Marxist thinking, dependency theory and world system theory (Hayes, 1991; Wallerstein, 1974). Such approaches emphasise the negative impacts of migration within capitalist systems, which reinforce the underdevelopment of sending countries and weaken their sociocultural cohesion.

Overall, pessimistic views see migration as a product of larger processes of capitalist expansion, which undermine traditional livelihoods, uproot rural populations and leave them no choice but to join the urban proletariat (Chi, 2008; Delgado-Wise, Marquez-Covarrubias & Puentes, 2013). In contrast, optimistic views that adopt neoclassical and developmentalist approaches consider the movement of people from labour-abundant to labour-scarce regions as a process contributing to a more optimal production. Additionally, through counter-flows of knowledge, these

approaches see migrants as active agents of economic growth (Massey, 1993). These perspectives relate migration mostly with structural changes, such as rural-urban demographic shifts.

In the late 1960s, most analyses highlighted the contribution of mobility to the process of 'modernising' developing countries (Kindleberger, 1965; Ladame, 1970). Naturally, some studies adopted less positive perspectives (Frank-Kamenetski, 1969), but the works most influential in this period tended to adopt optimism. In the 1970s and 1980s, more critical studies noted that the mobility of people educated with the expense of developing nations was actually contributing more to richer countries (brain drain process), while the sending countries were having difficulty attracting the reinvestment of their emigrants (Almeida, 1973; Lipton, 1980; Reichert, 1981; Rhoades, 1979;). They regarded emigration as harmful to developing countries as it increased their dependency on external support. These lines were still focusing mainly on structural changes and demographic trends that would be related to migration, and would not focus much on migrants' residential choices.

In the course of the 1990s, the dominant academic discourse reversed again towards the celebration of mobility of people, underlining the potential benefits of migration networks. This approach celebrated transnationalism and saw migrants as actors of positive change (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). Such lines would put a bit more light on migrants' residential choices and not only on structural changes and broader demographic trends. Later, the dominant approach in the first decade of the 21st century paid more attention to the contribution of remittances to impoverished countries of origin, still following a more optimistic tone (Kapur, 2008; Ratha & Shaw, 2007). However, more recently, most researchers have pulled back from the glowing portrayal of migrants as a leading force in the development of sending countries (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 2012;). Thus, the shift of theories seems to go towards a more pessimistic direction in the last few years.

This thesis addresses migration beyond the binarism of pessimistic vs optimistic views, dialoguing with some authors in this middle place that considers this phenomenon with more nuances, such as De Haas, Petit, Guilmo, Long and others to be outlined later on. Following this direction, the following section demonstrates that migration relates both to negative and positive outcomes depending on the scale observed, and that a deeper focus is needed on the scale of individuals migrating.

1.2- Shifting the focus from structural impacts of migration to the impacts on individuals migrating

Structural perspectives in migration studies often focus on the impacts of migration on the economies of destination or communities of origin, which might overlook the sphere of the individuals migrating per se. These broader levels of analysis have undeniable relevance to understand the migration phenomenon as it is treated nowadays, since current migration is mainly addressed in macro dimensions through institutions and nation-states. Still, it is important to keep in mind that these macro decisions are impacting not just numbers and demographic flows but human lives behind it, affecting the opportunities that a human being has to pursue a dignifying life.

Furthermore, structural studies tend to put individuals in a condition of passivity, not sufficiently considering the protagonism that they often have in their choices, as Castles (2014) underlines, since their choices do not simply obey structural pressures or economic demands of powerful poles. Macro theories also tend to homogenise the migrant group, overlooking how characteristics and particularities of different migrants, such as age, gender, ethnicity and education, might strongly affect their possibilities for mobility - such as highlighted by Reitz and Banerjee (2009) and Cambrezy and Petit (2012).

Besides, most macro theories are based on an idea of nation-state sovereignty that does not seem compatible with the increasing denationalisation of economy, information and communication in the global era (Benhabib, 2009; Sassen, 2008). Over-focusing the influences on economies of destination and origin, structural analyses often overlook certain individual experiences that are crucial to understand the migration phenomenon. For these reasons, it is important to bring a more human-centred approach to the analysis of migration, shining more light on migrants themselves.

The top-down approach of structural analysis can be suitable to examine migration policy worldwide and market forces affecting human mobility. Nevertheless, these bodies of work do not provide enough insights to examine key experiences and values of the individuals migrating - which is a crucial perspective for understanding the migration phenomenon more completely. Since the present thesis aims to put light on such experiences, a bottom-up guideline focusing on individuals seems more appropriate, in order to cover the values and motivations of migrants more directly.

Key literature on the individual scale of migrants and its main gaps

A popular approach addressing an individual scale in migration studies is the neoclassical approach to migration, which focuses on individuals' rational calculations of costs and benefits of moving (Todaro & Marusko, 1987; Borjas, 1990). Within this view, individual decision is based on the consideration of whether the benefits of moving outweigh the costs, such as in Lewis (1954) and Todaro and Harris (1969). These neoclassical views had the premise that individuals behave mainly in a rational and self-interested way, with the aim to optimise one's benefits, such as suggested by Arrow (1950), Edgeworth (1881), Marshall (1890), Pigou (1920) and Bentham (1789). Since they have this focus on maximising utility, they are often referred as utilitarian theories.

Utilitarian and rational choice theories present some deficiencies that render this thesis unable to follow such a line. Firstly, they examine a person's preference by analysing her actual choices – leading to a mute theory where behaviour is understood in terms of preferences, which are explained by behaviour. Furthermore, these approaches do not account for whether the choice would remain the same if all alternatives were available, and neither account that behaviour might not necessarily follow a formal comparison of alternatives according to a preference pattern. In addition, these perspectives overlook that several individual choices might not be based on calculus of individual welfare, since they often relate to social rules and customs that might differ from one's welfare, as highlighted by Ray (1998). Choices do not simply reflect preferences, since they are also influenced by material circumstances and social surroundings that go beyond that dimension.

Individual decisions are not merely based on rationality, since very often the choices could derive from personal attachments, moral values, emotional drives or personal preferences that might seem appropriate for the individual, but not for the common sense (Petit, 2007). This strongly applies to understand migration contexts in which the migrant chooses destinations that might not be considered ideal for most people in their surroundings, but is motivated by personal values that overcome these rational judgements. In addition, personal choices do not necessarily reflect egoistic drives, since individuals often act in altruistic manners - sometimes following the benefit of what is considered the common good, other times in favour of other individuals more directly. This is a frequent case in migration contexts, where many migrants would prioritise the needs of their household before their own benefit, as highlighted by Castles (2014).

Furthermore, the neoclassical tradition treats behaviour as a result of the market's functioning, as if individuals would act mainly adapting to the market's demands and offers. Nevertheless, a vast part of the economic transactions in developing countries is not directly caused by adjustments to demand and offer, as Guilmoto & Sandron (2003) demonstrate. Another weakness of the neoclassical perspective in this market dimension is that it treats the variable 'work' as if it had the fluidity of other productive factors, assuming the prevalence of a perfect concurrence in the labour market. In reality, several institutional obstacles hinder this pretentious workforce fluidity and the possibility to calculate differentials between the place of origin and the destination (2007).

Still among the perspectives based on individual calculations for migrating, another dominant approach is the risk management theories (Hameiri, 2011; Williams, 2012). Studies in this guideline examine how individuals seek to minimise risks along with maximising earnings, considering not only financial potentials but also social rank (Lucas & Stark, 1985). This perspective states that migrants seek not purely higher salaries per se, but possibilities to reduce vulnerability and instability. According to risk management theories, seeking higher incomes is not always a key motivation of migration decisions, since in many cases migrants move even to earn lower salaries (after considering other motivations), and since millions of migrants remain in the host destination even after a long period of unemployment.

Although risk management perspectives are valuable for expanding the analysis beyond the dimension of incomes and putting more light on social contexts, they still overestimate the precision and formality of individual decisions. As Petit (2007) and Castles (2014) indicate, they would ask if the person would make choices guided purely by rationality and in a fully informed position. Another weakness of risk management and rational choice perspectives is that they over-focus the pre-migration phase, analysing mainly the motivations to migrate, and only very rarely the individual behaviour during the processes of settlement and adaptation. In order to discuss the impacts of migration on individuals, it is not enough to examine the reasons to migrate, but also how these reasons have been affected by the circumstances of the migrant's transit and the settlement.

Other studies focusing on migration choices have underlined the importance of other determinants beyond economic expectations or risk minimisation - such as career prospects, relating decisions with the possibilities of a broader learning in the destination (Mosneaga & Winther, 2013; Hart, 2016). Some studies also identified as key motivations to migrate the expectations related to public services in the destination, as well as to amenities such as safety and cultural activities (Hodgett & Clark, 2011; Preibisch, Dodd and Su, 2016). These motivations

were significant even in studies addressing South-South migration, with migrants demonstrating a noticeable expectation in these dimensions even when moving to a developing country (Ratha & Shaw, 2007; Bakewell, 2009; Preibisch, Dodd and Su, 2016). Still, it is important to notice that migration motivations might significantly vary according to migrants' age, gender, educational levels and ethnicity, with groups in more vulnerability (such as women, ethnic minorities and groups with lower education) often tending to consider more the aspects related to safety and stability, and younger and more educated groups tending to indicate more experimental prospects (Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Bretell, 2013; IOM, 2017). All these motivations to migrate linked to abstract and intangible dimensions of life were very frequent during this thesis' fieldwork, as interviewees indicated motivations beyond rational calculus of economic gains or strategies to minimise risks.

Overall, both rational choice theories and risk management views see migration as depending on the calculation of costs and benefits. They argue that the tendency to move would depend on the difference between advantages and disadvantages of staying or moving (Lewis, 1954; Lucas and Stark, 1985). However, individual behaviour does not always follow this rational guideline, and can be explained by several factors of other natures, according to what the individual values in specific contexts (Arango, 2017). Although these theories do put more light on the individual scale, they do it with a limited angle of a rational calculus.

A framework addressing the individual scale that overcomes the deficiencies of rational calculus theories can be found in the Capability Approach (CA). The CA proposed to shift the dominant analysis of development of its time, which focused on resources and outcomes, towards a human-centred perspective focusing on individual values (Sen, 1997). Since the aim of this thesis is to analyse how migrants perceive the impacts of migration in their lives, it uses the CA contributions to focus on the values and terms of these individuals.

1.3- Learnings from the Capability Approach (CA) to focus on individuals

Most of the previous approaches to development address people in a passive role and examine mainly the resources they possess and the outcomes they achieve, while the Capability Approach addresses people in a more active role and examine their freedom to achieve capabilities that will lead to these outcomes (Anderson, 2010). The first elaborations of the CA were done by the Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen in the 1980s (Sen, 1980; 1984; 1985; 1987). The Capability Approach considers development as the expansion of people's freedom and choices to pursue what they consider a good life (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). It

considers development in a human-centred perspective that includes not only economic growth but also the conditions of individuals and their appreciations about it².

The Capability Approach seemed in line with the aims of this thesis because this approach also pays attention to the process of achieving outcomes, analysing how free the individuals are to choose what they have reasons to value - which is of great importance for the thesis's focus on the perceptions of migrants about the impacts of migration in their lives. Sen conceptualises development as freedom, as a way to allow people to live these freedoms to seek their aspirations. The approach addresses not simply the outcomes people end up having, but the processes to achieve these outcomes, and capabilities related to this process (Clark, 2005). The Capability Approach is not a theory or a method, but a normative framework stating that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and that this freedom is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities to achieve what they have reasons to value (Sen, 1984). While functionings would be the things that the person values being or doing, capability would be the set of combinations of functionings that can be achieved, and freedom would be the agency to achieve (Sen, 1997).

This focus of the CA on the process of individual choices is crucial for this thesis, since addressing migrants' perspectives of migration presumes examining how a person chooses to try a new life abroad, and how free she is to pursue this will. This means not just looking at the number of alternatives of places to migrate, but especially the quality of these alternatives - the real opportunity she had to choose a certain alternative she valued (Crocker & Robeyns, 2009). Thus, 'the 'good life' for the CA is partly a life of genuine choice and according to one's own values. Following this line, the CA considers freedom as the ability to shape one's own destiny (Sen, 1985). This is also a key aspect when analysing a migration context, since migration is often an active initiative that a person takes to shape her destiny. The crucial step would then be to examine the capability she has to pursue this.

Sen refused to elaborate any list indicating minimal capabilities that should be guaranteed in this direction. A key concern of the CA was precisely to assess a person's development according to what she has reasons to value, and therefore general predetermined criteria would not capture this particularity. This point is one of the main differences between Amartya Sen and another key author of the Capability Approach, Martha Nussbaum, as Nussbaum has further developed a set of

² The Capability Approach is considered to have conceptually underpinned the Human Development discourse, since the CA has emphasised the importance of individual agency, freedom and choice when addressing development - a framework that would inspire Human Development perspectives. Still, the CA and the Human Development are not exactly the same and neither entirely coterminous. For further details on this relation, one can refer to Osmani (2016) and Alkire & Deneulin (2009).

ten 'central human capabilities' that would need to be guaranteed: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, sense, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2009). For the thesis' part more related to individual agency and individual development, the main line adopted will be Sen's, since the thesis analyses the case study through the terms that emerged in its own context, and not through the lenses of the ten central capabilities. Nussbaum's perspective (often referred as 'capabilities' approach in plural) will be used mainly for the thesis' part dealing with Human Rights, as Nussbaum has worked more directly with this area.

Finally, it is important to remember that, although the CA has strongly contributed to put more light on the values of individuals when assessing development, this approach does not consider the individual in isolation. Despite being a 'human-centred' approach with focus on human agency and freedom, the CA deals with these dimensions in a framework of 'social opportunities' (Sen, 2011). The approach considers social opportunity as both an end itself and a means to expand freedom. The CA reminds us that the opportunities available for a person depend on social relations and with actions from the State and institutions (Drèze and Sen, 2002). Although the whole thesis adopts a human-centred approach focused on the development of the individuals concerned, it does acknowledge that this dimension reflects influences from the broader spheres. The thesis demonstrates the need for more emphasis in the individual scale of migrants, but does not consider this scale as totally independent from structural influences. The present chapter does not suggest that the individual scale should be examined in isolation, but according to the values of the individuals involved, and not blurred by an over-focus on structural and communal influences.

Furthermore, it is important to indicate that the idea of individual in the CA does not correspond exactly to the individual of the utilitarian approaches, since the CA does not depart from the idea of a libertarian individual. For the CA, the individual is not seen mainly through his/her choices and decisions, but through the freedom and capabilities he/she has to pursue what he/she has reasons to value. While the libertarian individual ideally has complete freedom of thought and action, the individual as seen in the CA does consider influences which are external to the personal sphere and beyond the decision process (Sen, 1997). Social arrangements are more strongly considered by the CA treatment of the individual than by the utilitarian approaches and their idea of the libertarian person.

Proposals for overcoming deficiencies of migration literature focusing on individuals

Examining the impacts of migration on migrants presumes analysing their expectations when deciding to migrate and their perceptions when settling in and integrating in the new society. It is important to underline three crucial aspects in this analysis that are not sufficiently covered by the utilitarian theories mentioned - and that are better addressed in CA studies, as well as in human rights approaches and hybrid multiculturalism approaches that can be combined with the CA.

Firstly, the utilitarian theories analyse migration choices mainly as individual calculus anticipating gains, while the things a person can take into consideration go much beyond that sphere, as pointed out by De Haas (2011). In addition, utilitarian views do not analyse the conditions where the choice is made, which might influence the alternatives and behaviours, as Frediani (2010) underlines. The CA allows a more complete understanding of personal choice, by analysing it according to the person's own values, as well as examining how free the person is to make that choice.

Secondly, utilitarian views do not examine in depth the dimension of rights that migrants might face in the destination, such as indicated in Castles (2014). Regarding this point, the CA underlines the importance to have basic rights guaranteed independently of nationality criteria - a perspective reinforced and advanced by human rights approaches such as Benhabib (2009).

Thirdly, utilitarian views do not deepen the analysis of migrants' interactions with the new host society, not covering how they operate new senses of identities and belongings that also affect the migrant's perceptions about his life, as suggested by Cuche (2009). In this regard, Amartya Sen more directly has important insights about identity that contribute to a better understanding of this cultural dimension, especially when combined with contributions from hybrid-multiculturalism studies such as Fry (2000).

Regarding the first aspect (related to agency beyond calculations to maximise gains), it is important to consider that migrants' expectations also include more abstract aspirations and desires for change. These individuals might pursue things beyond the dimension of resources, or might value other aspects in the destination that are not necessarily material. Sometimes the person would even value the very act of migration per se, as a symbol of liberty and curiosity, independently of the measurable gains it might bring. In this domain, it is also crucial to examine the freedom this person had to deliberate about such migration - assessing not only achievements in the destination, but the freedom to achieve it. This presumes analysing the person's agency

when pursuing the goals she considers important. The agency aspect is particularly relevant for migratory contexts, given that migration strongly relates to a person's freedom to pursue better conditions in a new place (Castles, 2014).

In regard to the second aspect concerning fundamental rights, it is important to examine how migrants perceive their rights entitlement in the new host society. With the recent advancements in international human rights, migrants start to be more aware of their entitlement to basic rights regardless of State discretion (Long, 2015). As modern democratic States are expected to guarantee some basic rights not only for citizens but also for non-nationals, migrants start to claim these basic rights across borders (Sassen, 2000, Benhabib, 2009). This awareness reinforces a notion of international citizenship and boosts claims for transnational rights. A suitable analysis of the individual development of migrants should examine how the individuals concerned operate with this notion, analysing their level of awareness about their rights in the new host society.

As for the third aspect, concerning the role of identities in integration, it is important to examine the possibilities to integrate that migrants might face in the destination. When identity barriers in the destination are too rigid and exclusionary, migrants might not feel free to relate with different local groups according to their own wills (Sen, 2006; Fry, 2000). Thus, it is relevant to understand how free this person is to engage or disengage to national boundaries and ethnic identities. This presumes examining the notions of cultural diversity in the host society, and observing how free the person is to interact with the host society through different groups that she might find appropriate, operating different senses of belonging and not solely the national identity.

Considering these needs, the thesis adopts a theoretical framework that blends the Capability Approach with human rights and multiculturalist approaches, in order to complement and deepen the CA's contributions for understanding how migrants perceive the impacts of migration in their development, especially in terms of agency, rights entitlement and cultural identities.

1.4- Theoretical framework and research focus: combining CA with human rights and multiculturalist approaches to examine migrants' agency, rights and cultural liberty

The thesis theoretical framework combines the Capability Approach (especially from Nussbaum) with a human rights approach (mainly from Seyla Benhabib and Saskia Sassen) and hybrid-multiculturalism approaches (mainly from Peter Fry and Livio Sansone), aiming to analyse more deeply the perceptions of migrants in vulnerability about the changes in their lives after

migrating, in terms of agency, fundamental rights and cultural liberty. These lines share a compatible human-centred perspective and similar views on fundamental rights (Sen, 2015; Nussbaum, 19997; Sassen, 2010; Benhabib, 2008), besides presenting mutual contributions for understanding the agency, fundamental rights and cultural liberty of migrants. The following table indicates the framework to be adopted or combined for each one of the three key aspects mentioned, which are crucial for understanding how migrants perceive the changes in their life after migrating.

Table I - Frameworks to be adopted for the key aspects observed

→ Exploring the migrant's agency in migration choices (using Sen's Capability Approach)
→ Observing transnational claims for basic rights (combining the CA from Sen and Nussbaum with human rights approaches from Benhabib and Sassen)
→ Examining how migrants operate multiple identities in processes of integration in new society (combining Sen's works on identity with hybrid-multiculturalism studies from Fry and Sansone)

Exploring the migrant's agency in migration choices

In this effort to analyse the individual scale of migrants more deeply, it is important to examine how much freedom the person had to choose that destination in the first place, and then analyse the freedom she has in the new society to pursue the things she has reasons to value. To assess such freedom, it is necessary to examine the dimension of agency, defined by Sen as 'what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important' (Sen 1985, p. 203). This is particularly important when analysing migratory contexts, since migration is considered a key expression of one's agency to pursue better conditions in a new place.

Regarding freedom in the choice dimension, it is important to analyse how free the person was to choose to migrate to whichever place she might want. This includes freedom in both its power aspect and control aspect, as Sen (2011) conceptualises. The power aspect refers to the person's power to reach chosen outcomes - whether she is free to achieve different results and whether her choices will be respected. The control aspect refers to the person's control over the process of choice - whether she is actively doing the choosing action. In respect to these aspects, this thesis' fieldwork addressed the options that each interviewee had as a migration destination and how reachable these options were, as well as potential influences that impacted this choice, such as social pressure back in the place of origin or existing networks in the destination. This

follows the relevance (underlined by Sen) to observe not only what the person has achieved but also what she would have chosen, and observing whether she actually made that choice.

People have different levels of freedom to choose between different kinds of life inside or outside their place of origin. The control and the power that individuals have over their choices are often influenced by environmental and personal characteristics. Factors such as nationality, educational background, gender, age, race and others might influence the freedom individuals have both to choose to pursue a different life in a new place and to achieve certain things in this place once after migrating (Kuklys, 2004). Thus, when analysing a group of migrants in vulnerability such as this thesis will do, it is important to consider how their different characteristics affect their freedoms to migrate in the first place, and to choose certain things in the new place.

Freedom and agency are core in Sen's (1993) view of development, which focuses on people's freedom to lead the life that they have reasons to value and on the enhancement of the choices they have. Individuals might have reasons to value certain things that they consider more available out of their place of birth. In such cases, the ability to achieve meaningful things is deeply related to the possibility to migrate. As Bonfanti explains: "(...) the ability to choose where to live is conditioned, as any other capability, to both the capacity of the individual to access a certain bundle of goods and services and to the existence of enabling factors that allow him/her to convert such resources into the actual opportunity to move or stay in one's selected location" (2014, p.4). Transforming the capability to move into actual migration requires an act of choice and a certain amount of freedom for taking this choice, which is under the influence of several socio-cultural factors. Therefore, it is crucial to put more attention on the freedom people have in this process, and identify certain obstacles that hinder such freedom. This was a central dimension analysed in this thesis case study, using the CA contributions in this field.

Examining migration choice with a focus on agency also permits to capture the multiplicity of reasons for choosing a certain destination. Such reasons might go far beyond the anticipation of gains. Broadening the analysis beyond economic calculus is particularly important to understand migration towards emergent countries, such as this thesis case study in Brazil. Considering the structural difficulties and economic instability of these developing destinations, they would not instantly be ideal migration destinations if financial conditions were the only consideration - even if the new incomes would be higher if compared to the poorer location of origin. People move towards developing countries based on their values about a flourishing life, not simply seeking higher incomes (Petit, 2007, Castles, 2014). The case study develops these reflections further, while examining interviewees' main reasons for migrating to Brazil. Migrants' motivations include factors beyond income gain, and many of the things they were pursuing do exist in emergent

destinations. Indeed, emergent countries have increasingly become destinations for migrants from poorer countries, augmenting the so-called South-South migration (IOM, 2016).

Thus, to understand migration towards these destinations, it is also necessary to observe aspects beyond incomes, including potential work flexibility, training opportunities and better access to assistance, as well as documentation facilities and networks support (IOM, 2016). Other common motivations attracting migrants to such areas are lower taxes and living costs (in some cases), cultural proximity, bureaucratic facilities and work flexibility (Ratha and Shaw, 2006). The CA is therefore a particularly suitable framework for this analysis, as it emphasises how such economic and non-economic factors interact (Sen, 1985; Frediani, 2010).

Besides the anticipation of gains, other aspects that influence migrants' decisions relate to their concepts of a good life. This might include more abstract things that a person has reasons to value beyond incomes, such as social mobility, improvement of human capital and opportunities for learning (Massey & Arango, 1993). A deeper analysis must consider the 'philosophical account of what is essential for a good life' (Anand et al., 2009, p.4). This means considering the wide range of values that are likely to emerge from migrants' appreciations and stories. This thesis case study follows this guideline, giving as much space as possible for the interviewees to highlight the things that they have reasons to value according to their own terms and priorities.

In addition, a person might also choose to migrate not simply owing to the characteristics of the destination but also because she values the very act of migrating as such. In these cases, migrating is a symbol of freedom and curiosity of people willing for change and discovery. In such contexts, migration is not simply seen as means to achieve better conditions but also as an end per se. This perspective keeps in mind that migratory trajectories are also nourished by expectations, which are not measurable exclusively by econometric models or controllable by government measures, as described by Cambrézy and Petit (2013). These dimensions overcome calculations in terms of resources, as they also include reflections on social and psychological costs involved, as well as wishes and desires related not only to the destination but to the very act of moving and trying to reach one's aims.

In this direction, migration choices also involve the meanings this person gives to a good life; how achievable she considers this life in the country of origin and how she relates the new host place to this concept of a good life. Adopting a capability framework, it is still possible to consider the dimension of material gains, but also take into consideration the things that individuals have reasons to value in what they consider 'a good life' (Sen, 2011). In this respect, Comim, Qizilbash and Alkire underline: "(...) the capability approach is distinctive inasmuch as it stresses that capabilities and functionings have value in themselves: 'intrinsic value'. Income, by contrast, is

seen as having 'instrumental value' – value as a means to the realisation of other ends." (2008, p.10). The CA allows us to analyse how the behaviour of a person is oriented by the capability of achieving the life that she has reasons to value. This life might naturally include resources and incomes, but is not restricted to this dimension.

Overall, the CA's plural set of socio-cultural variables is crucial for a more complete analysis of individual motivations for migration choices, incorporating a wider understanding than comparative income alone (Bonfanti, 2014). This perspective provides an important contribution, as a counterweight to the dominant view of capital centred calculation. Despite this suitability of the CA for such ends, the approach has not yet been consistently applied in migration studies, or in studies examining how migrants perceive the expansion of their capabilities in another place, as highlighted by Gasper and Truong (2010). Applying the CA in this direction enriches the debate on the field, since it sees migration as much more than a means to maximise gains.

In this direction, Lena Näre (2014) presents helpful insights for understanding and deepening Sen's views on agency in migration situations that are similar to the context studied in this thesis. She argues that it is not suitable to consider migrants from poor backgrounds in a binary simplistic view as if they were either victims of globalising forces, employers and smugglers, or as entirely self-supporting agents. Instead, she advocates for a more nuanced view of agency which is not a dualistic scenario of structural influences vs individual will, but instead, a continuum of multiple dimensions of agency in times of constraints and opportunities. This view considers that, even with limited resources, individuals can develop and put in practice their own capabilities - a context frequently mentioned by interviewees in this thesis' fieldwork. Agency is seen here not only as acting to change one's life, but also as adapting to a given situation - and these dimensions are not necessarily opposite nor conflicting. Näre (2014) considers agency as a continuum with different stages of resistance, action (and non-action), reception and adaptation. She uses Sen's CA as a basis to develop such perspective about agency. A concept of agency based on this continuum captures the new forms of action required in situations of social change (like a migration context) better than concepts of agency focusing on deliberation and reflexivity. Interviewees have highlighted how their previous habits were not enough anymore to guide their actions in the new context, and that therefore they have seen themselves acting in new ways according to the changed circumstances. This situation contains both stages of reception and action, and strong emphasis on adaptation as an active role. Moreover, there were also frequent references to migration as an opportunity to act to pursue new capabilities, even when not all destinations were reachable. These discussions will be further developed when analysing the fieldwork findings regarding agency and interviewees' decisions in the migratory process.

Observing transnational claims for basic rights (combining CA and human rights approach)

To examine the individual development of a migrant in vulnerability, it is also relevant to analyse the awareness of this person about her rights in the host society, since being aware of her entitlements might help to overcome certain vulnerabilities (Battistella, 2009). As basic rights are increasingly seen as an entitlement of every human being - and not exclusively national citizens - it also applies to migrants, and starts to be demanded by them. Advancements in international human rights have helped to solidify the primacy of individuals vis-à-vis the nation-state, a scenario in which individuals acquire a sort of international legal personality (IOM, 2017). This is expressed in the increasingly spread ideas of "universal personhood" (Soysal, 2002), "rights across borders" (Jacobsen, 1995), and "transnational citizenship" (Bauböck, 2002).

In this domain, the capability framework covers both the so-called first generation rights (civil and political liberties) and second generation rights (economic and social rights). As Sen describes: "minimal demands of well-being (in the form of basic functionings, e.g., not to be hungry), and of well-being freedom (in the form of minimal capabilities, e.g., having the means of avoiding hunger), can well be seen as rights that command attention and call for support." (1985, p.217). Similarly to the Human Rights approach, the CA considers that every human being is entitled to fundamental rights as well as to rights related to minimal socioeconomic conditions to pursue a decent life (Sen, 2009). As Sen sums up: "The two concepts — human rights and capabilities — go well with each other, so long as we do not try to subsume either concept entirely within the territory of the other. There are many human rights that can be seen as rights to particular capabilities. However, human rights to important process freedoms cannot be adequately analysed within the capability framework." (2005, p.1). Considering this acknowledged insufficiency, the thesis enriches the CA's discussions on fundamental rights with key contributions from the human rights approach of Nussbaum (1997, 2009), Seyla Benhabib (2004, 2008, 2009) and Sassen (2010).

Furthermore, both the CA and this human rights approach assign to the whole of humanity the duty of assuring this rights entitlement (Sassen, 2010; Benhabib, 2008; Sen, 2009; Nussbaum, 2009). In practice, this implies that rights entitlement should not derive from nation-state discretion, as it does not depend on nationality criteria. A key contribution to further explore this domain is found in the work of Saskia Sassen, aligned with the rights-based approach and focusing on new forms of citizenship in the global era that might overcome the nation-state model of citizenship (2000, 2002, 2008). This critics of the nation-state arbitration on rights are noticeable in the CA and in human rights approaches, arguing that the right to have rights must not be simply left to

government judgement.

Both the CA and such human rights approaches also criticise the essentialist definition of political community of this nation-state model, which recognises rights based on citizenship criteria relying on nationality - and strongly influenced by economic interests (Benhabib, 2004, Sassen, 2008, Sen, 2005). Instead, they suggest that the recognition of rights must be based on moral reflections. In Sen's words: "Both human rights and capabilities have to depend on the process of public reasoning. The methodology of public scrutiny draws on Rawlsian understanding of 'objectivity' in ethics, but the impartiality that is needed cannot be confined within the borders of a nation. Public reasoning without territorial confinement is important for both." (2005, p.1). Following a similar direction, Benhabib (2009) proposes to redefine the very concept of citizenship based on this constant public reasoning, where each democratic context can articulate and update the previous idea of citizenship, allowing new variations to arise.

As a potential alternative to the nation-state model, Benhabib (2009) suggests a cosmopolitan view where the concept of citizenship should be built and rebuilt through communicative practice, requesting constant dialogues in democratic interactions. This cosmopolitan federalism maintains the diversity of political communities and the respect for human rights, and thus the respect for the right for citizenship, as described by Gualano de Godoy (2016). It reinforces the responsibility with all people, whether they are citizens or not, to communicate with those aiming to enter the political community. This way, this community would not be based in essentialist definitions mixing *demos* with *ethnos* (Gualano de Godoy, 2016). Similar arguments can also be found in Sen's sense of justice, which overcomes national boundaries: "The assessment of justice demands engagement with the 'eyes of mankind', first, because we may variously identify with the others elsewhere and not just with our local community; second, because our choices and actions may affect the lives of others far as well as near; and third, because what they see from their perspectives of history and geography may help us overcome our own parochialism" (1999, p.130). In this line, he argues that the world can be organised and/or divided according to several criteria - nationality being simply one of them, and not the prior or absolute one (1999, p.141).

In this respect, Sen (2011) underlines that the consideration of basic human rights, including the guarantee of civil and political liberties, does not need to depend on citizenship or nationality, and may not be institutionally dependent on national social contracts. Additionally, he reinforces that both human rights and capabilities have to depend on the process of public reasoning with an impartiality that is not based on a specific nation. "The impartiality that is needed cannot be confined within the borders of a nation. Public reasoning without territorial confinement is important

for both Human Rights and Capabilities (Sen, 2005, p.1). Following this direction, there is no reason to presume that interaction and engagement can be pursued only through the borders of a specific nation or culture. This opens space for non-nationals to engage in civic life and claim for rights in the new host society. Thus, migrants become increasingly aware about their entitlement for claiming for basic welfare from the governments of the countries they settle in and/or from international aid (Long, 2015; Massey and Arango, 199). Such a tendency emerges in the findings of this thesis's fieldwork, with migrants strategically operating legal mechanisms in order to have their basic rights guaranteed in Brazil.

Although Sen acknowledges this importance of rights to deliver capabilities, his works are not focusing so directly on human rights and he admits that important discussions in this field would not be covered by his perspective of the CA (2011). In the part dealing with this topic in *The Idea of Justice* (2011), Sen reminds that, while his line of the CA focuses on the opportunity aspect of freedom (with capabilities being the actual opportunities to achieve valuable functionings), the human rights dimension goes beyond that, since it includes the process aspect of freedom - as human rights protect the process of achieving such functionings. In a more concrete example, while the CA focuses on the actual opportunities that a person has to achieve the functionings that she values, a human rights emphasis would focus on how these opportunities are been guaranteed. Two individuals with access to the same sets of functionings may be in a similar situation from a capability perspective but in different situations regarding human rights, as one might access these functionings through the rule of law while other might do it through the benevolence of a dictator. In a human rights perspective, this legal dimension would be of key importance, whereas in Sen's view, the moral dimension would receive more emphasis. Sen considers human rights as moral rights, as really strong ethical pronouncements to what should be done. He adds that not only law is crucial to guarantee human rights, but also public monitoring, education, debate and protest. In Sen's view, human rights are justified like other ethical claims, and should also be open to plural informed scrutiny in order to deserve their status of outstandingly important moral claims that entail social duties. Sen reminds that, even when certain rights pass through this scrutiny and are agreeably considered human rights, people are likely to disagree about their comparative relevance, their interactions with other ethical aspects or the obligations they demand.

Therefore, this thesis' relations between the Capability Approach and human rights approaches also uses the contributions of Martha Nussbaum, who addressed human rights more directly within the CA. Nussbaum (1997) would argue that in some areas a suitable way to think about rights is to see them as combined capabilities to function in various ways. Securing a right to

a person is to put her in a position of capability to choose a certain function if she desires. When we refer to 'human right' as the justified claim to have a capability secured just by being a human, this sense of right would be prior to the capability, as well as a ground for the securing of a capability (Nussbaum, 1997). This sense of human rights lie closely to Nussbaum's idea of 'basic capabilities, as they derive from the feature of humanity and demand support from the whole world. In another use of the term 'right', one can say that citizens in a certain country "have the right of free religious exercise", for instance, normally meaning that the State responds to this claim from citizens just owing to the recognition that they are humans. Nussbaum underlines that, in this sense, rights and capabilities can be seen as equivalent, with combined capabilities being the goals of public planning. She highlights that the claim and provision of such combined capabilities cannot be left to discretions based on ethnicities or nationalities, as it would be contrarious to the very nature of this claim. The transnational aspect of this claim for rights was strongly present throughout the fieldwork interviews - not only regarding ideas related to fundamental rights (such as civil liberties, respect, non-harm etc) but also in the dimension of basic needs. Most interviewees have underlined, for instance, how much they value that educational and health services were provided for free in Brazil for both nationals and non nationals equally. There was also a frequent mentioning of migration as a right, especially when seen as means to achieve basic needs that the person lacked in her place of origin. Such discussions will be further addressed when analysing the fieldwork findings more directly.

Examining how migrants operate multiple identities in processes of integration in new society (combining Sen and hybrid-multiculturalist approach)

When examining the individual development of a migrant, it is important to acknowledge one's interactions in the new society, since this dimension can be crucial in the perceptions this person has about her life (Cucho, 2009). This depends not only on the migrant's behaviour, but also on the way this host society tends to deal with diversity (Castles, 2014). When identity barriers are too strict or exclusionary in the host place, individuals cannot freely decide which of their identities to operate according to their needs and aims. Choosing this identity is not a matter for State discretion according to nationality criteria, but an issue for the individual to decide. Useful contributions to this debate of cultural liberty can be found in the Capability Approach, with Sen's discussions on cultural rights and multiculturalism.

Identities and notions of belonging can refer to several groups according to age, gender, religion, ethnicities, hobbies, goals, views and many others – including nationality. When the concept of nation is only used as a means to voice its populations' aims and to promote cooperation, then there would not necessarily be problems with this concept per se. Insights in this

direction are remarkable in Sen's writings. He underlines that territorial lines attributed to states have legal significance but might not have similar political or moral perspicuity (2011).

Sen acknowledges that humans do think of their identities in terms of groups that include some and exclude others, but he highlights that these identities are not limited to nationality criteria, and not even uniquely to concepts of civilisation. "(...) to see any person preeminently as a member of a civilization (for example, in Huntington's categorization, as a member of 'the Western world', 'the Islamic world', 'the Hindu world', or 'the Buddhist world') is already to reduce people to this one dimension. Thus, the shortcoming of the clash thesis begins well before we get to the point of asking whether the disparate civilizations must necessarily clash. No matter what answer we give to that question, (...) we implicitly give credibility to the allegedly unique importance of that one categorization over all the other ways in which people of the world can be classified" (2015, p.64). Nussbaum reinforces this line, arguing that national identities might not be necessarily problematic by their own, as long as they are not used as basis for rights restrictions and as long as they are not considered a primary and unique identity mark - allowing individuals to gather according to other identities that they might share.

These issues are of particular relevance to assess the settlement and integration of migrants. The multiple identities of these individuals might make them identify with locals through ties beyond national criteria, such as a common religion, gender, language, profession, ethnicity or political beliefs. The importance of one identity does not need to diminish the importance of other, as Sansone (2003) and Fry (2000) highlight when addressing their ideas of a hybrid-multiculturalism. Individuals might attach particular relevance to a certain identity according to the context (Sen, 2015). In this sense, migrants might alternate different loyalties in different circumstances, and might play with their plural identities according to their aims or the needs that are presented (Cuche, 2009). Individual thoughts and behaviours are influenced by various aspects, and to identify with a certain group does not make one lose the capacity to consider other ways of thinking and behaving. Cultural influences do not mean a complete determination of individuals' characteristics. Additionally, even certain culture might present strong internal variation, as well as different levels of attachment from people. Therefore, the main point is whether one has substantial freedom regarding what priority to give to various identities that he/she simultaneously has (Sen, 2015).

Exercising multicultural interactions can stimulate the cultural liberty that allows individuals to choose their identities and belonging according to their preferences in distinct circumstances. Cultural liberty can develop from multiculturalism, and not from self-contained monoculturalisms that tend more to isolation than to interaction. Sen warns that certain contexts with multiple cultures

do not necessarily promote a true sense of multiculturalism if there is no interaction: "(...) having two styles or traditions coexisting side by side, without the twain meeting, must really be seen as 'plural monoculturalism' (...) The vocal defense of multiculturalism that we frequently hear these days is very often nothing more than a plea for plural monoculturalism." (2015, p.99). This is a crucial point for migration studies when analysing migrants' settlement and integration. This line guides the thesis not only because it tends to promote more inclusion in social terms, but also because it is a key for cultural liberty in individual terms too, which dialogues with the Capability Approach inspiring the whole research.

Cultural liberty is understood by Sen as an act of individual choice, when the person firmly decides about how intensely to embrace the cultural background in which they were born (and in which occasions) – after considering other alternatives (2015). This liberty would be exercised when deciding, with reflection and reasoning, how to engage with the received behaviour pattern. It is also crucial to allow space for individuals to decide that their national or cultural identity is less relevant than other identities, such as professional commitments or political views. Following this line, the most important claim here is to leave this decision up to the person. In migration studies, difficulties in this topic might arise when one insists that individual identity must be defined mainly by national belonging, disregarding several other affiliations that the person has (i.e. civil roles, language, gender, social relations). Priority must not be given to the person's inherited tradition, but to her reflection and choice, as Sen, Fry and Sansone underline. Behaviours in this direction were noticeable throughout the fieldwork, with migrants frequently interacting with different groups according to the circumstances. Their comments about their senses of belonging would include national and ethnic groups, but also several other identities. The main interactions and gathering processes observed would be based on multiple shared characteristics - such as being a woman, being young, speaking a certain language, searching for jobs in similar sectors, etc. This discussion will be deepened when analysing the fieldwork findings, also relating to the broader scenario of cultural identity in Brazil and its very particular formation throughout modern history.

Overall, insightful contributions for discussing multicultural identities can be found in the Brazilian context regarding migrants' diversity. The unusual approach to diversity that developed throughout this country's history raises questionings and new possibilities to traditional ideas of multiculturalism. Fry (2000) and Sansone (2003) have key contributions to address the particular sense of hybrid multiculturalism that was developed in Brazil. To understand how this was built, the next chapter explains the main migration flows and related policies of Brazil in order to contextualise the case study held there, and to explain the contributions that this context brings both to capability studies and to migration studies.

CHAPTER 2

“THE RELEVANCE OF THE BRAZILIAN CASE FOR MIGRATION AND CAPABILITY STUDIES”

The present chapter explains the relevance of the Brazilian case to migration studies and capability studies. It does this in three main sections. The first one indicates more directly the particular contributions that the Brazilian case presents to advance key debates on capability and migration literature, especially on topics related to agency, rights and identities. The second section presents a historical contextualisation of migration in Brazil, summing up the main migratory flows in the formation of the country's current population, as well as the core policies in this matter. Based on this contextualisation, the third section explores further how such policies have stimulated a very particular sense of identity in Brazil, which presents fruitful insights to reflect on multiculturalism, including how to tackle the challenges that Sen highlights in this domain.

2.1 - Key contributions of the Brazilian case

Relevant insights about the dimensions underlined in the previous chapter can be found in the migration context of Brazil. The Brazilian case is relevant both for contemporary migration studies (bringing insights on South-South migration, transnational citizenship and mobility rights) and for the Capability Approach (advancing some debates on identity as well as on agency and choice). In respect of the CA's focus on the agency aspect in personal choices, the Brazilian case is relevant to analyse migrants' reasons to move to this developing country instead of a richer destination in the global North, as well as to examine the opportunities these migrants had to move to other places. Regarding the mentioned dimension of rights, the asylum system in Brazil presents a particular flexibility that has motivated migrants in vulnerability to claim for their basic rights regardless of nationality criteria. Finally, the Brazilian case also has a specific approach to multiculturalism that brings relevant contributions for debates on identity raised by Sen and migration studies focusing on socio-cultural integration (Cuche, 2009; Reitz, Banerjee, Phan, Thompson, 2009). The contributions of the Brazilian case to these dimensions are summed up in the table below. They will also be further explored in the chapters addressing the data collected in the fieldwork.

Table II - Contributions from the Brazilian context for the key aspects observed

Key point in Sen's CA, rights-based approach and multiculturalism studies	Contribution from the Brazilian case
To deepen the analysis of freedom and agency in circumstances of constrained mobility →	Examining the freedom to choose preferred destinations to migrate + Understanding reasons to choose a developing country
To examine transnational claims for basic rights →	Analysing how Brazil's asylum system is used by migrants to claim basic rights regardless of nationality criteria
To expand the possibilities for integration through various identities (expand cultural liberty) →	Using insights from Brazil's unusual approach to multiculturalism to think about new forms of identity and cultural liberty

Firstly, the context studied is relevant for the CA's discussions on agency, since it allows us to investigate how free interviewees were to migrate to other places, including wealthier destinations in the global North. This particular case is an opportunity to examine whether interviewees migrated to Brazil mainly because it was a more reachable choice, or if they had reasons to move to this country specifically. The fieldwork chapter will also explore this issue, contributing to examine how free these migrants were to choose whichever destination they wished. Still in this domain of agency and choice, the context studied also contributes to the CA effort to examine individual choices beyond the neoclassical calculus anticipating benefits. The Brazilian case presents an opportunity to analyse the reasons for moving to a developing country facing structural difficulties, where such anticipations would not be so expected.

Secondly, the Brazilian case also contributes to advance the CA's discussions concerning the notion of minimal welfare as universal right. The country's asylum system has an unusual flexibility that has allowed migrants in vulnerability to claim for their fundamental rights and demand from the Brazilian government a minimal support to which every human being should be entitled, despite their nationality criteria. According to the Brazilian asylum system, every single migrant can request asylum and, while waiting the request to be judged, will remain with a protocol that gives them access to all public services as for a national citizen. Migrants facing vulnerability in the country have increasingly used this path to remain documented in the country until they find a job that would grant them residence or a visa. The contextualisation in the next section will describe

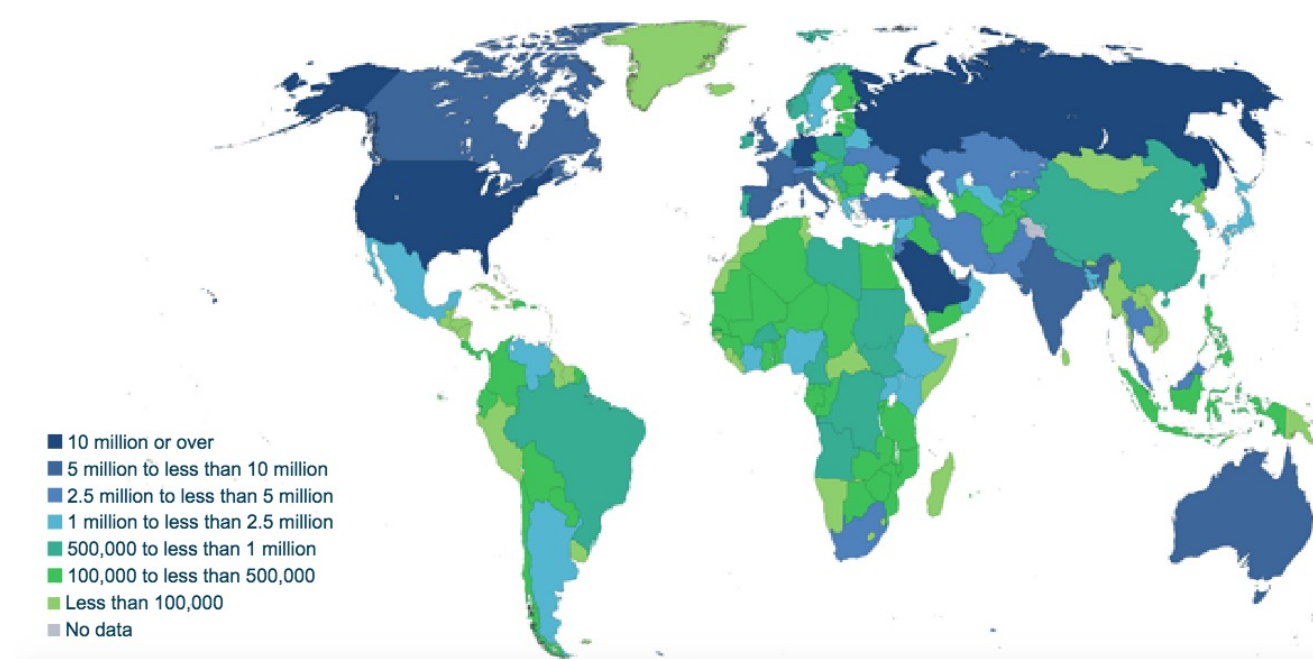
this system further and indicate how it has been challenging the support to refugees eligible for asylum protection, and the sixth chapter analysing the data will further explore this dimension and indicate its potentials for rethinking concepts related to fundamental rights and citizenship.

Thirdly, the Brazilian case also contributes to Sen's debates on identity, since it has a particular approach to cultural diversity that goes beyond the traditional multiculturalist approach. This particular way of dealing with diversity was not developed exactly because the governments were well intentioned to embrace as much diversity as possible, but mostly because they wanted to avoid ethnic fragmentation that could lead to unrests. However, this ended up constructing a particular scenario in Brazil where senses of identity were built through several belongings beyond nationality - such as religion, class, profession, gender, etc. The final part of the present chapter will explain this dimension further, in order to complete the contextualisation of the Brazilian case regarding migration with specific attention to its sense of hybridism when stimulating the integration of migrants.

Furthermore, Brazil has been re-emerging as a destination of contemporary migratory flows (IOM, 2017). The factors most related to this phenomenon are Brazil's economic expansion from the mid-2000s until the beginning of the present decade, as well as the increase of migratory restrictions in the USA and European countries (CRAI, 2015; IOM, 2016). In global terms, migration from deprived locations towards emergent countries (such as Brazil) has been strongly rising in the last decade (IOM, 2017). Frequent reasons to choose developing destinations relate to their lower restrictions for entrance and settlement, as well as their cheaper living costs, when comparing to some richer locations (Castles, 2015; Ratha and Shaw, 2006). The motivations might also relate to cultural similarities and geographical proximity (Petit, 2007; Pine and Francis, 2014). Although Brazil's immigration numbers are relatively low when compared to the most common destinations in the global North and South (IOM, 2017), Sao Paulo city is increasingly appearing in global migration reports as a relevant migration pole (IOM, 2017). Migrants with formal documentation in Brazil sum 1,211,129 according to the last Federal Police Registration (Polícia Federal, 2016), among whom 9,552 are registered as refugees (ACNUR/UNHCR, 2017). Recent estimations from associations in the migration sector suggest that Brazil would have at least 600,000 undocumented migrants, coming especially through land borders or overstaying after entering as a tourist (Gomes, 2013; Oliveira, 2013). Adding these estimations to the total number, the final amount would approximately correspond to 1% of the Brazilian current population of approximately 207 million (Governo Federal, 2016; IBGE, 2017). In Latin America, Brazil appears among the countries most receiving migrants, after Argentina, where about 4% of the current population is formed by migrants (IOM, 2017). These shares are proportionally low when compared to other destinations such as

Canada (20.7%) or the United States (14.3%). The estimated 1 million migrants in Brazil do not make up a large share of the number of migrants worldwide, which currently stands at over 250 million (IOM, 2017). The world map below contextualises Brazil as a destination of immigrants comparing to the global scenario (in a map indicating the total number of individuals born abroad who were living in each country), with Brazil not standing in the category of the most common destinations globalwise, but still categorised in the group presenting some significant inflows.

Figure A: World Map - Number of International Migrants



(Source: Geospatial Information Section, United Nations, 2017. Retrieved from:

<https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimatesmaps.asp?0t0>)

Nevertheless, Brazil's current case becomes very significant when one considers the proportional increase registered in the last decade – indicating a rise of 160% in the total number of documented migrants (CRAI, 2015). Moreover, considering São Paulo city, the case becomes more relevant: documented migrants represent almost 4% of the city population (Polícia Federal, 2016), a percentage four times bigger than the national share. With 385,120 documented migrants currently registered (Polícia Federal, 2016), São Paulo is the city with most migrants in Brazil and the main migratory destination in Latin America nowadays (IOM, 2015), reinforcing its historical trajectory of ethnic diversity worldwide recognised³. The states currently receiving the largest flows

³ It is acknowledged that the situation of migrants facing vulnerability in São Paulo city might not reflect the situation of migrants facing vulnerability in smaller and poorer areas of Brazil with fewer services, job opportunities or projects especially designed to support migrants. For this reason, the thesis's main

are respectively São Paulo (Southeast region), Paraná (South), Minas Gerais (Southeast) and Rio de Janeiro (Southeast), but the fluxes towards São Paulo state and its capital São Paulo city are remarkably more numerous and count to almost half of the influx (CRAI, 2015).

2.2 - Historical contextualisation of migration in Brazil

There are only few academic works summarising the history of migration in Brazil as a whole, such as De Holanda, 1995; Bassanezi and Beozzo, 1995; Fausto, 1999. Most works in this topic address a specific period (Carvalho, 2010; Lesser, 2001; Schwarcz, 2007) or a particular national group who migrated to Brazil (Alencastro and Renaux, 1997; Campos, 2015; Singer, 1998), which are also used in this chapter. This summary might also be a contribution of this thesis to a field still lacking more works addressing the general panorama of migration towards Brazil in the last century.

Overall, Brazil has passed through very different phases of international migration, alternating stages of little population gain and even population loss with periods of equilibrium of the migratory balance. The contemporary population of the country is known especially for its ethnic miscegenation derived from massive migratory fluxes in different periods (). Portuguese colonisation starting in 1500 employed a native indigenous workforce in the first attempts to cultivate the soil and extract natural resources (Carvalho, 2010). Several decades of exploration and colonial expansion towards the countryside led to the decimation of a massive proportion of native tribes (Schwarcz, 2007). The most accepted estimations calculate around 3 to 4 million (Azevedo, Pivatto and Carneiro, 1996; Carvalho, 2010; Ribeiro, 1957). Today, there are around 600,000 individuals, belonging to 227 groups with 180 different languages (IBGE, 2010). From the total Brazilian population nowadays, indigenous people make up only 0,4%, and face serious vulnerabilities with the expansion of global-scale agribusiness and lack of State protection for land regulation, economic incentives and educational support (Levy, 2008).

With the expansion of plantations in Brazil (mainly for exportation towards European markets), there was a need for a larger and cheaper workforce (Lesser, 2001). For that purpose, from 1570 onwards the Portuguese authorities started to foment the importation of enslaved

question indicates São Paulo and not the entire Brazil (“Do migrants facing vulnerability *in São Paulo* perceive improvements in their personal development after migrating to this developing destination?”). In the questionnaires the reference is to Brazil and not just São Paulo city because this is the way most interviewees would refer to their new hosting society, commenting on the country as a whole. Still, as São Paulo is the main migration hub, the discoveries from this context can bring insights that might be useful for other contexts in Brazil, especially considering the city’s pioneer initiatives for migrants’ support.

workers from several locations of West and Central Africa. After being 'purchased' from local negotiators, these workers were forced to embark at ports in West Central Africa, especially in the location of contemporary Angola. According to Fausto (2000), it is estimated that around 4 million slaves, mostly young men, entered the Brazilian ports between 1550 and 1855. Theories from older historians such as Prado Junior (1972) estimate 7 million, while Calmon (1945) and Calógeras (1966) range from 8 to 13 million. The work conditions in which these migrants were employed are widely known to be completely deplorable, abusive and unsafe, with forbidden access to services in equal terms to non-enslaved workers (Lesser, 2001). Such a long period of intense slavery of population with African origins and exclusion of black communities led to a legacy of racism that, although not institutionalised, is still subtly noticeable in the social, cultural and economic domains and in implicit exclusion from daily relations (Schwarcz, 1994). Some migrants of black ethnicity still face this impact in subtle gestures of social life, as a few of the migrants interviewed in the fieldwork have indicated.

During four centuries, exploration and exporting of natural resources were mainly based on enslaved African workers and still punctual exploitation of indigenous workers, even after Brazil was proclaimed independent in 1822. After some decades of regent governance, Brazil was finally proclaimed as a republic in 1889. As slavery had been abolished just one year before, employers were then supposed to pay salaries, although labour legislation was still very precarious (Schwarcz, 1994). With the rise of industrial efforts and the expansion of agriculture in several regions, new workers were to be hired in paid contracts, although facing exhausting and abusive conditions. This hiring process was also influenced by the Brazilian scientific and political thinking of the time, strongly marked by positivism and racial eugenics theories. They defended the whitening of the population as a necessary factor for national development, inducing the employment of European workers. As Seyferth sums up (2002, p.170): "The 'whitening thesis', a homogenising tendency that would gradually give to Brazil a population mainly with white phenotype, through selective migration especially from Europe. The persistence of this thesis until the Estado Novo ('New State' in the late 30's and 40's) and even after it can be noticed in the frequent criticism to non-white migration that could deviate this course of ethnic formation".

Politicians and elites of the time, mostly white, used to associate the underdevelopment of the country with its high concentrations of black and mixed 'mestizos'. The main formal incentives for immigration started just after the republican proclamation and were massive in the two first decades of the 20th century, especially towards the flourishing rural sectors in the South and Southeast and the urban growth in big Southeast cities (Singer, 1988). At least 5 million Europeans, Levantine Arabs and Asians had their entrance registered in Brazilian ports between

the turn of the 19th century until the 1950s - a large part receiving some kind of state subsidy, small agricultural incentives, provisional housing and very basic education and health services (Alencastro & Renaux, 1997).

Therefore, attracting migrants was a way for both populating the unexplored areas of the country and whitening the population. Most migrants faced gruelling conditions, as the rural context was still influenced by centuries of slavery and based on abusive and risky workloads. In the rural areas, groups of German, Italian, Polish and Japanese populations were constantly coming especially to the thriving farms at the South and Southeast, making Brazil one of the main receiving countries of migration flows in the last century (Lesser, 2001). The urban cities in the two richest regions (South and Southeast) were rapidly growing during the century, counting with remarkable presence of Italians, Spanish and Middle Easterners from Lebanon and Syria, fluxes that continue until the late 50s (Singer, 1988).

However, although the final population increase of the 20th century was remarkable, it happened in different rhythms throughout the century. The inputs were massive until the late 50s and then started to shrink in the 60s, discouraged by political discordances and economic decrease at the period (Lesser, 2001). From 1964 until 1988, Brazil was under military dictatorship with strict control of civil rights, and the economy was not flourishing in the same rhythm as in previous decades (Carvalho, 2010). Within this hostile scenario, emigration of Brazilians to other countries started to happen more strongly (Oliveira, 2001). In 1980, the dictatorial government implemented the Statute of the Foreigner (Estatuto do Estrangeiro), which was the law used to legislate on migration until 2017. Reflecting the logic of the dictatorial environment in which it was implemented, the Statute was guided by a motto of national security, painting the migrant as potential disturber of local orders and national traditions.

During the 80s and 90s, the country faced serious inflation and a rise of unemployment, which made the scenario much more hostile to migrants and made Brazilians seek opportunities abroad (Assis, 2001). In this period, Brazil also joined the migratory wave that touched almost the whole planet, when former regions of emigration (like Southern European countries) started to receive populations of their ex-colonies, while the USA, Japan and other rich countries started to recruit migrants from poorer countries. Like other Latin American countries, Brazilian emigrants went mainly to the USA and Europe, and a considerable part to Japan - especially Brazilians who descended from Japanese migrants (Campos, 2015).

From the late 90s onwards, migratory balance in Brazil stopped being negative and started to shift towards equilibrium. Exit of Brazilians smoothed and there was an increased return of

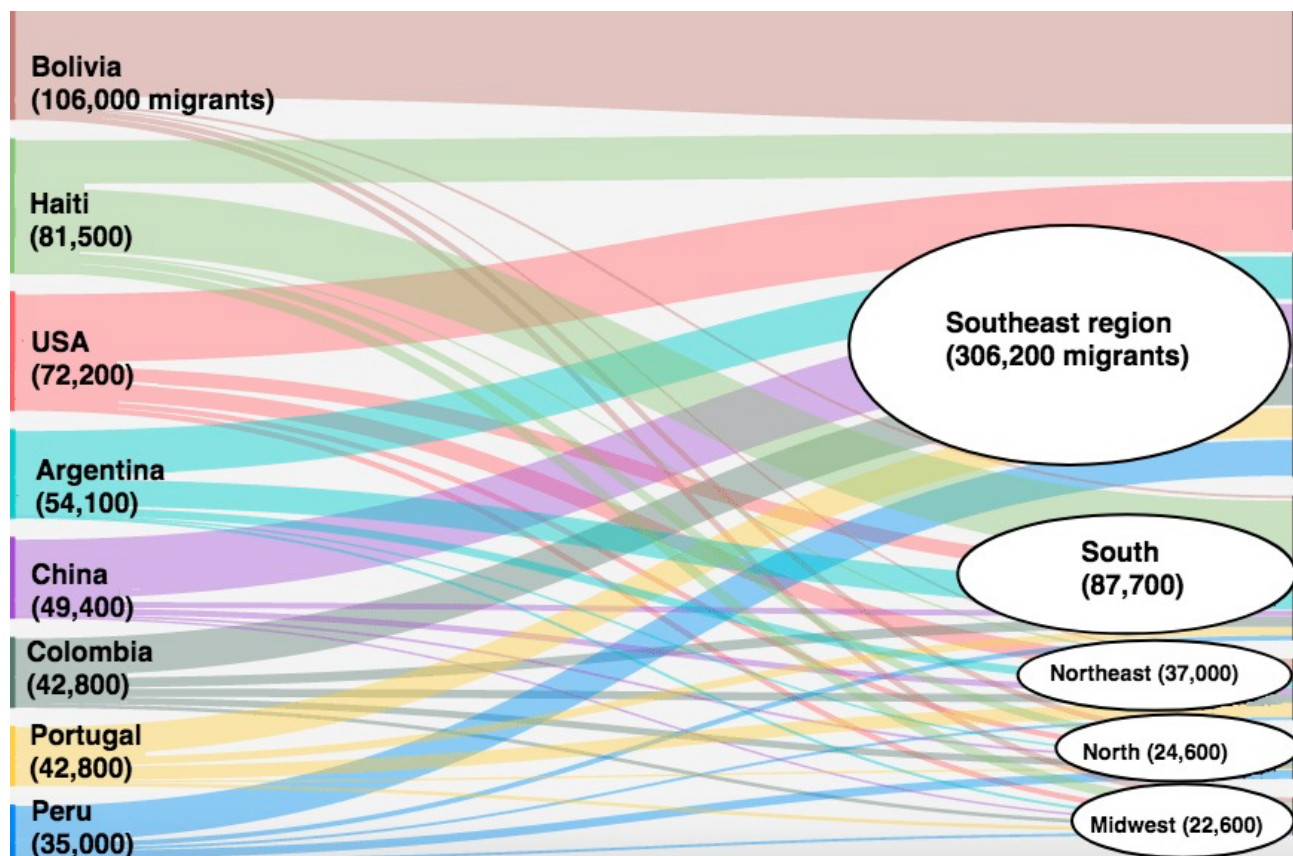
Brazilians who had migrated before, some bringing relatives born abroad (Campos, 2015)⁴. New influxes of incomers in Brazil have also emerged in this period. Since the turn of the century until today, the average profile of the migrant in Brazil is of young single men (mainly between 25 and 40) with secondary education complete, working in the sectors of industries and services as well as repair and maintenance (Polícia Federal, 2017).

Comparing to the historical migration in Brazil in the first half of the 20th century, it is possible to notice now a weaker frequency of people migrating as a whole family (consequently, smaller proportions of women and children), since current migrations towards Brazil have been showing a higher frequency of single young men (Polícia Federal, 2017). Contemporary migrants also have a higher educational level than in inflows from the previous century, which is naturally expected when considering the general improvement of educational level globalwise (UNDP, 2015). Likewise, probably reflecting the global urbanisation phenomenon already taking place in the beginning of the last century, there is now a lower share of migrants in the agricultural sector when comparing to the historical flows populating Brazil a century ago. In terms of destinations inside Brazil, the inflows from the previous century were more widely spread throughout the country, with government's incentives to populate several areas, whereas now the inflows are targeting the urban capitals, especially in the Southeast (CRAI, 2015).

The inflows in the present decade were formed by two main groups. One group consists of qualified workers mainly from richer countries, especially Portugal, USA, Italy, France and Spain, occupying high positions in the labour market. A second group consists of workers with medium to low qualifications, formed mainly by other Latin American countries (especially Bolivians and Haitians), as well as Angolans, Chinese and Koreans, occupying intermediate to low positions (Polícia Federal, 2017). In the specific year of 2017, when the fieldwork for this thesis was held, the main flows of incomers in Brazil registered by the Brazilian Federal Police were Haitians (14,535), Bolivians (8,407) and Colombians (7,653), followed by Argentines (6,147), Chinese (5,798), Portuguese (4,861) Paraguayans (4,841) and Americans (4,747). Considering the total numbers from the previous years, the image below illustrates the main flows registered in Brazil from 2000 to 2016, indicating the Brazilian regions to which they have migrated (Miraglia, Almeida & Zanlorenssi, 2018).

⁴ Regarding the current emigration of Brazilians abroad, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations estimates that around 3 million Brazilians are living abroad (Zanlorenssi & Almeida, 2018), what corresponds to only 0,01% of its current population, with almost half of it (48%) in the United States, followed by 24% in Europe (mainly Portugal and the UK), 16% in Latin America (mostly in the neighbour Paraguay) and 6% in Asia (almost entirely in Japan).

Figure B - Main nationalities of incomers in contemporary Brazil and their regions of destination



(Retrieved from Miraglia, Almeida & Zanlorenssi, 2018:

www.nexojournal.com.br/grafico/2018/06/11/O-fluxo-de-imigra%C3%A7%C3%A3o-ao-Brasil-desde-a-chegada-dos-portugueses)

Migration laws in contemporary Brazil

During the late 90s until the mid-2010s (with presidents Cardoso, Lula and Rousseff), Brazil's dominant diplomatic discourse on migration pictured the country as welcoming to migrants, without direct restrictions according to place of origin, occupation, educational level, gender or age, as shown by Thomaz (2013) and Reis (2011). The mandate of Fernando Henrique Cardoso put emphasis on the National Plan for Human Rights, which included the Law Project on Refugees in Brazil, in order to reinforce the re-democratisation that was taking place in the mid-90s. After being approved in 1997, the project became Law 9.474, which establishes the rules applicable to refugees and asylum seekers in Brazil. This Law of 1997 also created the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE), responsible until today for reviewing requests and declaring the recognition of refugee status. It is also responsible for guiding the necessary actions for protection, assistance and legal support to refugees (Andrade & Marcolini, 2002). However, for migrants with no refugee

status recognised, the mentioned Statute of the Foreigner from dictatorship times remained as the main legal framework, contrasting with the effort to shift towards a more rights-based approach.

According to the Statute of the Foreigner, long-term visa concessions should be based only in political, socioeconomic and cultural interests of the country, which can reject any foreigner who would be considered injurious to national order and internal interests (Casa Civil, 1980). Thus, there is an disconnect between the conditions that gave rise to the Statute and the further international Conventions signed by Brazil, such as the American Convention for Human Rights of 1948 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966. These conventions state that human dignity should be respected by the State regardless of nationality criteria or legal entrance in the country, including the right to equality and non-discrimination (Milesi, 2007; Ventura and Illes). Thus, the Statute was inconsistent with the current context in international law and at odds with the provision of human rights which is more valued now (Jaqueira & Martins, 2015).

In order to propose a legislation more adapted to the current expectations of human rights in international law, the Ministry of Justice convoked in 2013 a Commission of Experts (through the Decree 2,162/2013) to discuss the issue and elaborate a more suitable legislation. Between July 2013 and May 2014 (when a first draft of the proposal was presented to the Ministry of Justice), the Commission held seven meetings with State representatives, international institutions, parliamentarians and experts, as well as two public consultations with civil organisations and citizens (Ministério da Justiça, 2013). Under the new approach of this Commission, the migration issue in Brazil was finally debated in a broader, more open and rights-based orientation, consulting several migrants' organisations. The draft elaborated by this Commission was the initiative most defended by migrants' associations (Conectas, 2014) and the most adapted to a human rights-based approach. The initial version of the law had a remarkable humanitarian, protective and progressive tone, but it has gradually suffered setbacks while voted by the Deputies Chamber and the Congress and finally sanctioned by Brazilian president Michel Temer on 24th May 2017. The main distinctions between the Statute of the Foreigner and the initial project for the New Migration Law are summed in the sequence.

Table III - Brazilian migration laws compared

<i>Statute of the Foreigner of 1980</i>	<i>Law Project for the New Migration Law (2014)</i>
Considers the “foreigner” as a matter of national security	Considers the migrant as a matter of human rights
Hinders and bureaucratises migrants’ regularisation	Encourages regularisation, advocating that documentation brings visibility to the migrant, then making him/her less vulnerable and with more opportunities for formal inclusion
Is incompatible with the Federal Constitution and international treaties on human rights signed by Brazil	Proposes one of the most advanced laws in terms of rights concession
Uses the term “foreigner”, which reinforces a sense of externality and otherness	Uses the term ‘migrant’, including migrants (also the transitory) and emigrants
Gives the State the responsibility to decide who can remain in Brazil by its own variable criteria	Gives access to residence when fulfilling the law conditions, also permitting family reunion
States that all regularisation depends on formal employment in Brazil	Permits legal entrance of those who are still searching for work in Brazil
Fragments the assistance to migrants in several government agencies	Establishes a central federal agency specialised in migrants’ support

(Source: Brazilian Ministry of Justice, 2014 – Personal free translation)

Nevertheless, not all these progressive goals of the initial project could be achieved. In the Brazilian system, law projects proposed by a civil committee should pass through voting in the national chamber of deputies, then through voting by senators, and finally go to the president for sanction, before finally being able to be implemented as formal law. Inspired by some insights of the 2014 draft made by the Committee, a law project for a New Migration Law, called PLS

288/2013) was proposed by the Congress Senator Aloysio Nunes Ferreira (party PSDB of São Paulo) to substitute the Statute of the Foreigner (Law 6815/1980). This law project already had fewer concessions of rights than the initial draft, and later on suffered even more setbacks before being approved by national deputies in December 2016. Additionally, it had even more conservative interferences by senators voting in April 2017, and finally another round of vetoes when sanctioned by president Michel Temer in May 2017.

Temer's current government has been characterised by conservative approaches to social policy, proposing cuts in pensions and conditional cash transfers for groups in vulnerability, as well as reduction of funds for culture and education ministries (Folha de S. Paulo, 2017b). It has also increased permissions for occupation in indigenous lands, as well as permitting increases of outsourcing contracts with lack of labour rights (El País Brasil, 2017). While this thesis was being finalised, Temer's mandate was about to finish to give place to the elected candidate Jair Bolsonaro, who follows an even more conservative right-wing line. Bolsonaro makes direct criticisms of migrants from poor backgrounds living in Brazil, alongside openly racist declarations that have caused polemic worldwide, as well as promising to reimplement some security measures of Brazil's dictatorship period (BBC, 2018; New York Times, 2018; Time, 2018, The Guardian, 2018). Specialists such as Espinoza and Brumat (2018) foresee that Bolsonaro could either revoke the existing migration law via parliament or create refugee camps to avoid dealing with asylum requests through the current system. He also promises to deepen the conservative approach to international affairs applied in Temer's mandate, shifting from the line of South-South cooperation of previous mandates with the Labour Party towards a re-alignment with the United States and much less emphasis on a human rights agenda (Nunes & Rodriguez, 2017).

The progressive line of the law suffered regresses during Temer's administration, with his veto to 18 excerpts when sanctioning the project for the new migration law. One of the most relevant is the veto to the proposed amnesty to migrants who entered Brazil until 2016 – a setback strongly regretted by activists engaged in the whole process. According to Temer's justification, 'it would grant indiscriminate amnesty to all migrants, removing Brazilian authority to select how the foreigners will be accommodated according to national interests' (Senado Notícias, 2017, free translation). Another relevant veto relates to the free movement of indigenous and traditional populations across borders in lands historically occupied by autochthone communities. According to Temer, 'this would disrespect the Constitution, which aims to guarantee the defense of the national territory as an element of sovereignty, through the control of all transits in the borders by Brazilian institutions, as well as the government's duty to protect the lands and assets of Brazilian indigenous' (Senado Notícias, 2017, free translation). Another major veto rejected migrants'

opportunity to hold a job in the public sector, which the President considered contrary to the defence of national interest stated in the Constitution (*idem*). These vetoes show a tendency to guide migration policies based on market demands and nation-state strategies, rather than prioritising mobility rights and a more human-centred perspective, as Chapter 1 has shown.

Nevertheless, even after these setbacks during the long voting process, the new law is more aligned to human rights than the previous Statute of the Foreigner. It also aligns the country to treaties it had already signed long before, such as those directly addressing migration and asylum in 1951 and 1966, or concerning rights to development in 1986 (Trindade, 1996). For instance, as a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations of 1948, the Brazilian State undertakes to respect and protect the human rights of individuals regardless of their nationality, race, sex, ethnicity, language or religion - guaranteeing to any individual the right to life, freedom, health, education, and work, among others (United Nations, 1948). Thus, irrespective of nationality, every migrant in Brazil should be entitled to respect, equality and protection. According to this framework, the Brazilian government cannot undertake discriminatory practices, and should apply the appropriate punishments to those who do so.

Other significant examples in this direction were the three major amnesties to regularise migrants in 1988, 1998 and 2009. In the most recent, more than 43,000 foreigners could formalise their settlement, especially Bolivians with over 17,000 workers registered in this amnesty (Reis, 2011). Although these amnesties demonstrate an important motivation from the government to deal with undocumented migration, they also reveal the persistence of this phenomenon in Brazil over the years, showing the urgent need for a more comprehensive policy for this issue. Additionally, local authorities often do not recognise certain migrants as equal to Brazilian citizens in legal terms, especially those migrants without documentation. Nevertheless, instead of assisting their regularisation, many government agencies undertake bureaucratic barriers and threats of expulsion, considering the migrant as a mere security problem (Severo, 2015).

With the lack of alternatives to remain documented in Brazil, the asylum request appears as a means to remain in a regular situation in the country, even acknowledging that their situation does not correspond to the eligibility criteria of the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees (United Nations, 1951). This strategy has increased because the protocol of asylum request is a valid document in Brazil, enabling these individuals to access jobs, use public services, open a bank account, rent accommodation and do other basic activities. After applying for the asylum request, any migrant can stay documented in Brazil while their case is under analysis. Even after CONARE committee rejects the request, the migrant can still appeal for reexamination with new documents and justifications, extending their permanence in the country in a regular situation (ACNUR, 2017).

When the asylum request is rejected, the migrant has two weeks to present an appeal for CONARE to revise it, and this revision starts a similar process to the previous one that can take several months, allowing an extra time for the migrant to stay in Brazil in a regular situation (Brazil, 2017). If the request is denied again, then the person has two months to present an alternative means for regularisation, which can be a study enrolment, confirmed job offer, document proving the need for a long-term health treatment, certificate of marriage with a Brazilian citizen (Brazil, 2017). Only if the person is not able to present any of these documents in this two months time, CONARE brings the case to the federal police for potential deportation (idem).

If having the asylum request approved, the main advantage is gaining the right to apply for residence in Brazil, enabling the migrant to plan a proper long-term settlement. Still, it is concerning that CONARE lacks sufficient budget, staff and structure for processing the growing amount of cases. A staff of only 14 people is responsible to analyse all the requests, which summed up more than 33,000 in 2017 alone (CONARE, 2018). In this same year, for instance, this staff was able to analyse only 2,000 cases, and ended up rejecting 60% of them owing to their non-eligibility according to the Cartagena Convention (CONARE, 2018). The committee acknowledges that most cases were facing poverty and difficulties in the place of origin, but it reinforces that only cases involving a direct risk (such as personal/political persecution or natural disaster) would justify asylum concession (ACNUR, 2017). This context opens space for questioning the very concept of asylum according to the Convention, since it excludes extreme poverty or serious economic vulnerability as potential justifications. Such discussions will be further explored in the sixth chapter, addressing migrants' notions of their transnational rights and how thousands of migrants in Brazil have been using this particularity of the asylum system as a way to remain documented in the country.

2.3 - Brazil's particular approach to diversity and integration of migrants

Within this historical contextualisation, it is important to explain with more detail the unusual approach to ethnic and cultural diversity that was held by Brazilian policies when hosting the main migration flows in the last century. This particular treatment of migrants' identities brings interesting insights to rethink the approach to diversity that governments can adopt. In this concern, it is possible to identify three main patterns for migrants' inclusion that governments have followed or combined in different periods and sectors: differential, assimilationist and multiculturalist (Bommes, 2005; Castles, 2014; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003). The differential pattern tends to hinder migrants' possibilities to become national citizens, while the assimilationist pattern tends to grant citizenship only with the price of assimilation, and the multiculturalist pattern provides citizenship

respecting migrants' cultural particularities. These are theoretical patterns that are not always mutually exclusive - as governments do not strictly follow just one guideline for all domains, and might adapt distinct approaches according to the issue concerned. Still, it is possible to identify key tendencies in policies according to these main trends.

In the differential pattern, States do not aim to integrate migrants as full citizens with political rights, reinforcing migrants' particularities and differentiating minorities. Additionally, this approach sees migrants mainly as labour force and base nationality criteria on ancestry. Germany, Switzerland and Austria have adopted policies in this tendency. The main criticism for this approach is that it might lead to division, conflicts, discrimination and isolation (Castles, 2014; DeHaas, 2015; Portes & De Wind, 2007).

The assimilationist pattern integrates the migrant at the price of abandoning his/her original particularities and shifting towards the so-called 'national identity' of the host country. This approach is based on the construction of nation-state ideologies, and is followed mostly by France and partially by the Netherlands, as well as the UK only in certain periods and domains. This pattern is criticised owing to its failure to account for the cultural and social particularities of settlers, which makes this pretentious assimilation unlikely to succeed (Brettell & Hollifield, 2015; Castles, 2014).

According to the multiculturalist pattern, the migrant should be granted full equal rights without being expected to give up their diversity, although there is an expectation to conform to certain key values considered to be fundamental for the host society. Sweden, Australia and Canada have policies oriented by this approach, as well as the USA in previous decades and the UK in more recent decades. The predominant view in migration studies tend to see this approach as the most viable, as it responds to the needs of settlers and is more open to the cultural diversity that naturally follows migration (Bommes, 2005; Castles, 2014 Portes & De Wind, 2007).

This discussion on assimilation and diversity finds a fruitful terrain in a capability perspective. The Capability Approach advocates for more freedom to adopt multiple identities according to what one has reasons to value, as explained in the previous chapter. Therefore, from a CA perspective, migration policies in the differential model might be problematic owing to the frequent incompatibility between the values of migrants and the values of what the State might consider 'the national culture'. Neither is a CA view very compatible with the assimilationist guideline, as the latter grants citizenship to the migrant only when he/she demonstrates to have assimilated the main features of the culture in question. At first sight, the multiculturalist line would

seem the most compatible with a capability framework for migration policies, as this line respects and recognises the migrants' cultural preferences and values.

Nevertheless, to be even more in line with a capability framework, a multiculturalist approach should stimulate the migrant's identities to be in constant contact with the identities of other groups. This would promote a proper multicultural scenario where different cultures constantly blend and transform themselves, building new cultural forms in creative and dynamic ways. Such a scenario is very different from a simple mosaic of distinct cultures that do not interact – the 'plural monoculturalism' criticised by Sen (2015). Sen underlines the risk of this tendency by exploring Britain's contemporary case: torn between interaction and isolation of diverse communities. As he argues, "Instead of encouraging British citizens of diverse backgrounds to interact with each other in civil society, and to participate in British politics as citizens, the invitation is to act through their 'own community.' The limited horizons of this reductionist thinking directly affects the living modes of the different communities, with particularly severe constraining effects on the lives of immigrants and their families." (Sen, 2007, p.102).

Policies in this sense stimulate individuals with migrant ancestry to see themselves firstly as a member of that specific migrant group, and through that perspective as British – forming a federation of communities. Though some interactions do happen among the several communities and create new cultural practices, this does not seem to be the norm in contemporary Britain (Eade, 2003; Nye, 2002; Sen, 2007). Sen reminds us that the so-called 'British' identity is constructed upon blends of many cultures of the region it occupies. Hall (1993) and Anderson (1983) have long discussed these blends of the local cultures and the influences of external groups to which Britain has also related over the centuries. These authors argue that, however, this 'British identity' is portrayed as a natural category with rigid features, separate from the multiple cultures that actually formed it.

Brazil's case can bring valuable insights for this multicultural debate, going beyond the traditional multiculturalist pattern of the most studied cases in Europe and North America. At a first sight, the Brazilian context might seem to relate to the multiculturalist pattern, since it does not formally request assimilations of a national tradition, neither requires from migrants a certain knowledge about the native culture, nor stimulates migrants to abandon their cultural specificities (Banks, 2007; Guibernau and Rex, 1997). However, a deeper consideration of the Brazilian context reveals a more complex and particular case, which advances Sen's discussions on multiculturalism.

The formation of a Brazilian identity and the treatment of migrants' diversity

The State strategy that built the so-called 'Brazilian identity' was initially related to a discourse with an assimilationist tone of 'forming the Brazilian identity' – however, this identity was precisely constructed to be 'a melting pot', which later on would bring tendencies more related to a sense of multiculturalism. As Seyferth (2011, p.171) summarises: "In the Brazilian case, the 'melting pot' suggested a socio-cultural integration which was possible not only through assimilation but also through the miscegenation involving the immigrants and the three races forming the nation since colonial times (indigenous, Europeans and Africans)". According to the principles of the Brazilian nationalism for the new republic, the national identity was related to a vernacular language (Portuguese), to a very general sense of a common culture with Latin roots, and the historical formation of its population based on the myth of the three races that anchored the nation. In this scenario, migrant groups were not expected to isolate themselves. The isolation of migrant groups was even referred by Brazilian governments (especially the New State in the late 30s and 40s) as a potential risk to national security (Bethlem, 1939). Theories addressing the 'melting pot' idea following Oliveira Vianna (1932) would see the isolation of migrant groups as a problematic phenomenon, criticising migrant groups who were avoiding inter-ethnic marriage with the local mixed population.

Overall, the idea to form a mixed identity within which the previous ethnic belongings should not be prioritised. In this sense, the Brazilian case is a particularly fruitful domain to debate Sen's ideas concerning multiculturalism, since there were few spaces for constructing the 'plural monoculturalisms' that he criticises (2015). Sen underlines the importance to stimulate these other senses of belonging beyond national identities. Despite the specificities of the Brazilian case in this issue, the country's trajectory is still seen through the lenses of a classical multicultural approach, which does not fully cover its particularities.

Although Brazil is famous for its strong cultural and ethnic diversity (De Andrade, 1990; Fry, 200), the strategy to deal with this escapes the traditional models of the classic multiculturalist approach. During the last century, the country's policies and social configurations have developed in a way that stimulated new grouping processes according to ever-changing criteria. In certain periods and regions the criteria did include ethical characteristics, but the borders of ethnic groups have changed constantly depending on other senses of belonging - such as social class, profession, religion or common interests (Patarra, 2011).

As the analysis of the fieldwork data will illustrate, several interviewees highlight this multicultural feature as a relevant motivation to have migrated to Brazil. Participants underline that they have reasons to value the flexibility of the idea of 'national identity' in Brazil. This does not mean that there are no xenophobic tendencies in the country, or that none of the participants has suffered any discrimination. Still, differently from multiculturalist contexts (and from the British case criticised by Sen), Brazilian policies on average have not stimulated migrants to participate in society through their specific national groups (Cogo e Badet, 2013; Grin, 2009; Kulaitis, 2017; Patarra, 2011).

Countries with multicultural tendencies sought to manage diversity and its power conflicts on the basis of an egalitarian statute for cultural differences (Castles, 2014). In the Brazilian case, the first policies to attract migrants at the beginning of the last century aimed to 'whiten' the population (after centuries of enslaved labour brought from several parts of Africa) by assembling varied non-black groups (Schwarcz, 2012). The traditional multiculturalist policies would not put groups such as Jews, Arabs, Japanese and Slavs all in the same category of white, together with the so-called Caucasians from Northern Europe (Sen, 2007). In an opposite direction, the Brazilian case considered all these communities as a single 'non-black' group, without emphasising their particularities (Neto e Ferreira, 2005). This was a strategy to stimulate their interaction with the local population, in order to 'whiten' the following generation as quickly as possible (Kulaitis, 2017). Additionally, labour qualification would be a key criterion to gather large groups of individuals of several ethnicities (Oliveira, 2011). Brazilian migratory policies in the beginning of last century would mainly attract workers for the agricultural sector, aiming to populate more cities and cultivate the massive lands of the continental-sized country, gathering farm workers from very different ethnic groups, although preferably non-blacks (Neto e Ferreira, 2005).

Following this direction, the formation of the Brazilian republic in the beginning of last century saw this uniformisation of non-black migrants under the polarisation between whites and blacks (Kulaitis, 2017). The very notion of 'desirable' white migrant was imprecise, since it depended on the political and economic arrangements that influenced the Brazilian migratory policies of each period. This white and black polarisation has influenced academic interpretations of national identity, blurring the ethnic diversity of migrants within a broad sense of 'Brazilianness' (Lesser, 2015). This way, migrant diversity in Brazil stands as 'social multiculturalism', as put by Doytcheva (2005, p. 9), in a sense of pluralism that values cultural diversity but does not necessarily transcribe it in the political sphere.

The acceptance of the so-called 'desirable migrant' was based on how 'inoffensive' he/she would be considered in sanitary, moral and social terms - the latter often used to qualify migrants'

economic utility and to prevent them from participating in trade unions and political struggles. Part of the legislation related to migration - especially the National Land Settlement Service and the General Department of the Settlement Service in 1907 - prohibited gathering of migrants in order to avoid reunions that could culminate in politicised organisations (Oliveira, 2001). Moreover, as this 'ideal migrant' would preferably be white, this tone reinforced the exclusion of afro-descendants who were already marginalised even after the liberation of slavery in Brazil in 1888, since policies for compensation and capacitation of liberated slaves were not implemented (Schwarcz, 2012). For the State, stimulating the arrival of non-black migrants would suit its goals in social, ethical and economic dimensions. In social terms, it would reinforce cohesion; in ethical terms, it would speed the whitening plan; in economic terms, it would supply the growing demands for workforce (Rygiel, 2008).

After becoming a republic independent from Portugal in 1889, Brazilian government did not prioritise the maintenance of Portuguese heritage in the following century (Schwarcz, 2012). The government did not expect the 'desirable migrant' to reinforce colonial traditions, but mainly to soften Brazil's African heritage. For this purpose, documentation for new incomers would group 'desirable migrants' under the general umbrella of 'whites'. This is a significant difference from traditional multiculturalist approaches, with much more fragmentation of migrant ethnicities and stronger ethnic-territorial disputes (Kulainis, 2017). In Brazil, the sense of 'multi' (relating to dynamic and fluid) developed under broader senses of 'whiteness' versus 'blackness', with both groups having their internal heterogeneity softened. There was no sense of reinforcing the internal diversity of the black group, with no efforts to trace the diverse origins of enslaved ancestors.

The effort to avoid this specification and fragmentation was clear since the very registration of the population in the first half of the 20th century. Although the population census survey started in Brazil in 1890, until 1940 it presented only the ethnic categories 'black', 'white' or 'brown'. Only the 1940 census started to include the category 'yellow' for all Asian descendants, without considering its sub-distinctions, and only from 1991 onwards the census inserted the category 'indigenous', without considering its sub-groups either. The census has finally added specifications of indigenous groups in 2010, indicating the group's name and language. In rich countries where European colonisation has also decimated native communities, such as Canada, USA and Australia, the census included indigenous specificities several decades before Brazil (Camm, 1988; Jobe, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2016). In the Brazilian context, this reflects the State's effort to avoid fragmentations among non-blacks, which could later bring group claims that the State would not be willing to deal with (Oliveira, 2001; Rygiel, 2008).

Promoting the miscegenation discourse, the State played a decisive role in the invention of a 'Brazilian identity', constructed by dynamic imbrications and very variable terms. This theoretical miscegenation was fluid and constantly negotiated. However, the basis of this discourse was not the multiculturalist emphasis on the multi-ethnicities of the population, as Lesser (2015) describes. Instead, the management of diversity aimed precisely to soften the 'multi' aspect. Official speech emphasised the typical miscegenation of Brazilians as an aspect that would unite its population (in a common mixed background), and not fragment it in diverse sub-groups. Following this direction, State policies of the first half of the century aimed to weaken the particularities of migrant groups. During the populist presidency of Getulio Vargas in the 1930s, for instance, there was a general ban on books in foreign languages and any type of migrant meetings (Oliveira, 2011, p.12).

This line of policies cannot be considered as a traditional assimilationist approach, which aims to assimilate differences in a pretentiously 'national' identity that presents itself as unique and minimally uniform. In Brazil's case, there was a different tone underlining the mixed character of the so-called 'national people'. Again, the 'mixed' people appear as unified, not as a mosaic of groups with their particularities. The State values a multi-ethnic past precisely as a common national value. Thus, the government fails to promote diversity, as it does in the multiculturalist approach, and ethnic groups do not have much space for their specific claims (Kulainis, 2017).

Therefore, since the very beginning the Brazilian case escapes from the multiculturalist frames. These frames are based in the belief that modern democracies must ensure the balanced recognition of cultural differences, reforming their institutions and providing individuals with the means to cultivate and transmit their differences (Doytcheva, 2005). Thus, multiculturalism is not a characteristic of society per se, but rather a set of ideals that can become political programs. As Sansone (2003) sums up, the multiculturalist idea emerges as a typical phenomenon of democratic societies in which cultural differences have become a matter of social justice. By turning this issue into a political programme, multiculturalism implies an institutional change and an active role of the government in valuing these differences.

In the Brazilian case, the ethnicity variable was often left out of the main policies for migration and diversity in most of the last century – differently from traditional multiculturalist contexts where ethnicity was central. Only with the 1988 democratic Constitution did Brazil start to deconstruct the identity based on miscegenation, following the international multiculturalist trend so prominent at the time (Kulaitis, 2017). This wave stimulates the first Brazilian plans of racial quotas for education and employment. In the 2000s, identity issues gained more space in government agenda, influenced by the growing affirmative action policies on the international stage. The national scenario was also more propitious to such approach, with a popular-based party (PT) in

power, reinforced by president Lula's poor background closely related to minorities in vulnerability. In this context, the management of diversity started to deal with the ethnic issue more directly, reinforcing discussions on quotas for indigenous and black groups (Fry, 2000).

Following this direction, there has been an increasing debate nowadays on adopting a multiculturalist curriculum in basic education (in line with the main tendencies in rich Western countries). Nevertheless, the public education system in Brazil still faces many more basic structural problems that hinder the assimilation of even more simple contents. Sansone (2003) underlines how these innovative 'solutions' are imported without proper contextualisation into Brazilian circumstances, and often without even being well received by the target groups in the country of origin. As he sums up: "The arrival of multiculturalism as a model of society and desirable future in Brazilian Academia seems an anachronistic and non-contextualised phenomenon, similar to the arrival and popularisation in Brazil of the international notion of a postmodern city (cacophonic, eclectic, non-regulated, polyvalent), despite the historical lack of urban planning in the region" (2003, p.548, free translation). For the moment, however, multiculturalist ideas in Brazil are still much more at the level of discourse than in actual policies.

This current scenario concerning multiculturalism and diversity in Brazil will be further explored in a fieldwork section specifically addressing this domain. Deepening the analysis through fieldwork has helped to understand how migrants operate their identities and senses of belonging in their interactions in the new host society. References related to cultural liberty and integration were remarkable during the interviews of this case study among migrants in São Paulo. The next chapter contextualises this case study, indicates its research questions, and explains its methodology.

CHAPTER 3

“METHODOLOGY FOR A FIELDWORK WITH MIGRANTS

IN SÃO PAULO PAULO (BRAZIL)”

This chapter contextualises the case study and indicate the main research question that guided it (supported by four subsidiary questions), besides indicating the questionnaire design and methodology adopted to address this question. The first section contextualises the case study in the Brazilian and São Paulo scenario, also explaining how the sample was selected. Subsequently, the second section indicates the main research question - *“How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?”* and the four subsidiary research questions related to it, which focus on their agency in the migration choice, the things they most value in what they consider a good life (and the capabilities to pursue it), their notions of fundamental rights in the new society, and how they see their identities in the new social interactions. The third section presents the questionnaire design, explaining how each block of questions dialogues with the research questions. Finally, the fourth section indicates the mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) adopted for collecting and analysing the fieldwork data.

This research used inducting theory with a case study, since it seemed the most appropriate process to access individual perceptions and opinions about their lives at the period observed (Yin, 2009). A case study presented important features for this research, such as problem definition and construct validation - similarly to hypothesis-testing research - but also other core elements such as within-case analysis and replication logic, which are more viable in inductive and case-oriented processes (Eisenhardt, 1989). Within this case study process, mixed methods were adopted in order to gather data that would be comparable among different individuals, but still prioritise their individualities and consider the richness of their narratives (Roelen & Camfield, 2015). Collecting data in this combination would not be possible through deductive approaches nor archive research, and neither through inductive approaches such as pure ethnography or surveys alone (Eisenhardt, 1989).

3.1 - Contextualisation of the case study and criteria for sample selection

Since the location for the case study needed to be relevant for the current migration scenario in Brazil, the city chosen was São Paulo (in the Southeast region), as it is the main destination of current migration in the country, receiving alone around 40% of the total flows

(ACNUR/UNHCR, 2017). It was also the first Brazilian city to create specific programmes for migrants and to incorporate protective mechanisms in municipal law directly designed for this public (CRAI, 2017). The municipality implemented the Municipal Law 16,478 of March 2016 establishing the Municipal Council of Migrants, the Municipal Policy for Migrant Population, the Reference Centre for Immigrant Support (CRAI) and agencies specifically designed to address the theme within the Department of Human Rights and Citizenship.⁵

Moreover, since the theoretical framework of the thesis is based on a human-centred perspective, the case study also needed to reflect this guideline. For this reason, the projects chosen were CRAI/SEFRAS and Missão Paz, since they are the most in line with such perspective. They deal not simply with the bureaucratic matters of the settlement, but also with the migrant's social inclusion and individual development during this process, taking the own values and expectations of such migrants into consideration. These projects assist migrants in vulnerable conditions, providing free shelter, food and psychological support for their first months in Brazil. They also provide advice for regularisation and for access to public services, as well as enrolment in free Portuguese courses and support for job placement.

Individuals assisted by CRAI and Missão Paz face vulnerability in terms of income, shelter, employment and access to services (CRAI, 2017). Most come on a simple tourist visa and apply for asylum only to remain documented with the waiting protocol for asylum request, which permits access to jobs and free public services as national citizens (CRAI, 2017)⁶. Thus, many migrants living in charity shelter of these projects remain with the protocol while they improve their Portuguese and find a job or formal course, so they can shift to a work or student visa. Although most of them do not formally meet the formal requirements for asylum, they do face several vulnerabilities that represent some risks to their pursuit of a decent life, as Chapter 6 will further discuss.

In this respect, the thesis refers to a concept of vulnerability that combines both economic characteristics and social circumstances. In the economic dimension, the standards considered are especially consumption instability and precarious living standards, mainly as stated by the UNDP

⁵ It is acknowledged in this thesis that migrants living in São Paulo might have a more positive view about Brazil's structure and conditions since they are living in the largest city with the most developed system for public services and naturally more facilities than smaller cities. Migrants living in small and isolated villages at the borders would probably provide very different appreciations about Brazil. Still, the intention in this thesis was also to provide insights in the policy level, and for this matter São Paulo city is the most suitable context owing to its assistance policies for migrants in place on a larger scale and for longer time.

⁶ The public systems for health and education in Brazil are free and open to both nationals and non-nationals (Law 8.080/1990 and Law 8.069/1990). Non-nationals with no formal documentation can also access public healthcare for initial medical consultations and emergencies, as well as for Portuguese course, but just after using they are expected to pursue any formal documentation for further access – such as to continue a more complex treatment or to be formally enrolled in school/university (CRAI, 2017).

(2015). In the social dimension, vulnerability is conceptualised essentially in three dimensions: spatial (environmental hazards, remoteness, lack of documentation, health risks); socio-political (exploitation and lack of legal protection); and socio-cultural (ethnic exclusion, cultural devaluation, marginalisation, harassment), such as proposed by Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003). The migrants assisted in CRAI and Missão Paz face all of these types of vulnerabilities, and therefore are addressed throughout the thesis as 'migrants in vulnerability' (or 'migrants facing vulnerability'). This seemed more appropriate than 'vulnerable migrant' because in the latter term, 'vulnerable' sounds as a fixed adjective characterising the person, whereas the term 'in vulnerability' emphasises that what is vulnerable is actually her circumstance - and that this context can be transformed. The thesis' title needed to maintain the term 'vulnerable migrants' owing to university rules requiring the final title to be the exact same as the one in the first version submitted.

It could be argued that a migrant person is almost naturally in a vulnerable situation somehow, since she tends to be facing an unfamiliar context with new difficulties. Nevertheless, the individuals living in CRAI and Missao Paz were facing a more severe difficulty not only owing to the simple fact of being a migrant, but also because most of them did not have a fixed income yet, neither could afford accommodation - besides struggling to buy some basic goods and facing socio-cultural difficulties, as they were still in their initial months in this new context. Thus, several of the vulnerabilities just mentioned were noticed in this case study.

Regarding this discussion on vulnerability, it is also acknowledged that interviewees would tend to indicate that they are in a fairly positive situation in Brazil, since they might have escaped from a stronger difficulty and instability in their place of origin. They might also consider themselves in a negative situation when comparing to Brazilians around them, who naturally have more easiness in their routines and more familiarity with the local structure. Still, it is relevant for this thesis to address interviewees' levels of vulnerability considering their situation per se, and not only in these comparisons with the place of origin or with the native individuals living there for much longer. For this reason, the questionnaire captured more detailed comments from participants in order to deepen potential simplistic answers about their situation in Brazil, also considering the actual material circumstances observed in their lives (income, meals, access to services, job status, etc), and not only their comments about their current situation.

Sample selection

Besides following a human-centred approach, CRAI was chosen because it is the only housing service for migrants associated to the government in Brazil. It is the largest and pioneer initiative in this matter in the country, currently offering 110 vacancies (CRAI, 2017). It was created in November 2014 by São Paulo's city council to promote access to rights as well as social, cultural

and economic inclusion for migrants in the city. CRAI offers multilingual services such as support for job placement and psychological care, as well as information about migratory regularisation, documentation, training courses and access to municipal services.

Missão Paz was also chosen owing to its human-centred approach to migration, above all criteria. It was also selected because it is the oldest, most traditional and most known non-governmental service for migrants, among a total of four initiatives in the sector in São Paulo (Lucio, 2015; Missão Paz, 2017). The remaining three non-governmental centres have been operating for fewer years, also having fewer vacancies and tending to focus on women and children in need of special care. Missão Paz's house has operated since 1978 with a more general public, hosting more accommodation vacancies than the others (currently with 110 places) and being a reference in the sector (Lucio, 2015).

There are currently 540 official residence vacancies for migrants facing vulnerabilities in São Paulo according to the City Council records (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2017). Discounting the vacancies for minors and eventual exceptions for non-international migrants (coming from poorer regions of Brazil), this population would be around 480 to 500 people. The final sample analysed in this thesis counts with 100 interviews, which provides an illustration with a confidence level of 95% and an 9% margin of error - what would be considered tolerable levels for the phenomenon observed (Rea & Parker, 2014). Since both centres have the same amount of vacancies, the final sample considers 50 migrants living in Missão Paz and other 50 in CRAI. Following guidelines for sample representativeness such as Mudford, Beale and Singh, (1990), the group selected can be considered significant for the specific population of newly arrived migrants living in these charity houses in São Paulo. The aim of the research was naturally not to represent the broad migrant community in Brazil, which is a much larger and diverse context not reachable for a PhD study conducted by a single researcher. Moreover, since the thesis adopts a human-centred perspective, the focus was not on numerical representativeness, but on the main perceptions and expectations of the interviewees concerning the changes in their lives after migrating.

In total, 120 residents were interviewed (60 in CRAI and 60 in Missão Paz) during March, April, May and June of 2017⁷. From this group, the study selected this sample of 100 interviewees picked up from the list of residents in those charities in that period, according to the proportions of nationalities and the gender share in the houses during the first semester of 2017. This way, the interviews follow weighting procedures for balance, such as highlighted by Chang and Krosnick (2009). The final sample with 100 people shows an illustration with at least 4 people interviewed

⁷ In accordance with the University of Cambridge ethical rules for fieldwork, all interviewees signed a Consent Form informing that the interviews were for academic use of this thesis and its related papers only, keeping participants anonymous to preserve their privacy, and not using any of the findings for other ends outside this research.

from each nationality, also respecting the gender share of both houses. Therefore, the study does not include in the analysis the 20 extra interviews which would surpass the gender share or which would bring just one person from the nationality in question.

In order to access potential interviewees in an organised and standardised way, the interviews were held in the accommodation halls of CRAI and Missão Paz directly. There, a controlled sample could be selected from a varied group, and the interviews could be held with security and uniformity. It is acknowledged that the appreciations of these individuals about São Paulo might be more positive than the view of an average migrant from a random group, since the sample analysed receives much more support living in the charities. Still, interviewing individuals randomly chosen around São Paulo would present even more difficulties for further evaluations and conclusions, since they would probably have very different socioeconomic situations, too distinct times spent in the city and other differences which would make comparisons even more unlikely.

The selection of interviewees from the lists of residents from CRAI and Missao was based on an effort to include as much representativity as possible especially in terms of nationalities and gender of residents who have lived there in the year observed. The most updated report from CRAI at the fieldwork period (CRAI, 2016)⁸ indicated that 478 residents had lived in the house during the concerned year, of which 25% were Haitians, 13% were Congolese, another 13% Angolans, 9% Nigerians, 4% Bolivians, 3% Syrians, 2% Peruvians, and 1% registered as several nationalities such as Benin, Morocco and Colombia. This report also indicated that 31% of residents were women and 69% were men in that whole year. In order to have a similar gender share but still respect the nationality proportions, a final sample of 14 women and 32 men was considered for the 50 interviews from CRAI. In terms of age, priority was given to interviews with migrants between 18-49 years old, since this corresponds to the vast majority attended in both centres, also representing the most frequent profile of contemporary migrants in Brazil (Cavalcanti, Oliveira and Tonhati, 2015; CRAI, 2017).

In Missão Paz's accommodation, there is a fixed gender share of 80 men (72% of the total 110 vacancies) and 30 women (27%). Thus, for the final sample of 50 selected interviews from Missão Paz there are 36 interviews with male residents (72% of 50 people) and 14 with female residents. In what concerns the nationalities share for Missão Paz, the internal report of the first semester of 2017 (document shared with researchers on request, but not available online) registers a group of residents in which 22% were from Haiti (thus making 11 of the 50 interviews at this centre), 14% from Angola (7 interviews), 14% Guinea (7 interviews), 7% Democratic Republic of

⁸ The proportions were taken from the previous year because no official report was already available for 2017 (the year in which the interviews were held), since CRAI only discloses it when the year has ended.

Congo (4 interviews), 4% from Togo (2 interviews), 3% from Nigeria (2 interviews), 3% Bolivia (2 interviews), 3% from Peru (2 interviews) and 3% from Venezuela (2 interviews). This sums up 39 interviews, and the remaining 11 interviews (to complete the sample of 50 for Missão Paz) were spread among the other nationalities which were interviewed in CRAI and were also significant in Missão Paz's group while the questionnaires were held. This distribution also considered the nationalities of the residents in that period who would regard the gender share pursued for the sample. Thus, 2 interviews were selected from residents from each one of the following nationalities: Colombia, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Benin. This share summed up 49 interviews, and for the one remaining the sample considered one interview of a Venezuelan resident because it would be the only alternative to respect the gender share pursued in the sample.

Additionally, the final sample only considers the interviews from migrants who are still in their first year in Brazil, and at a minimum of 4 months in the country, in order to present more homogeneity and coherence among the answers – thus improving the possibility of comparisons. This interval of time permitted to examine migrants' appreciation on the changes in their capabilities after migrating. Less than four months would not be enough time to have a minimum understanding of the new location, or to start building some appreciations about it. More than one year would mean too much time after leaving the location of origin, which hinders the comparability of the original place with the new place - additionally, it would also be a phase too different from the initial months in terms of social integration. Migrants with a longer time in the country would be likely to have opinions that would not be comparable with those of the people who have recently arrived. As the centres aim to provide support especially for the adaptation phase, the majority of the residents have arrived in Brazil recently, so it was feasible to select residents who would respect this duration stipulated (4-12 months).

3.2 - Compliance with research ethics

Ethical awareness was central in this research, since most interviewees were facing material deprivation and in some cases had a background with potentially traumatic episodes. Therefore, in the case of asylum seekers, there was a preoccupation not to touch in such episodes directly, avoiding to trigger psychological suffering. This kind of information was not the focus of this research anyways, so there would be no point on causing this kind of disturb. Concerning material deprivation, only one item of the questionnaire addresses income and it does not ask for the whole amount of income directly and precisely. The item indicates several financial slots to which the interviewee can relate his/her monthly income freely, without mentioning his salary specifically, in

order to smooth potential embarrassment or uncomfortable situations for the participant. At every moment the participant will be reminded that he/she can refuse to answer, if ever the question might cause any discomfort.

Before participating, each interviewee was informed about the research by the Consent Form attached in the index, which they had to sign before starting the interviews. Interviews were held only with me, with no assistant nor anyone from CRAI or Missao Paz staff, in order to avoid pressure/intimidation and to let the interviewee more comfortable to comment about CRAI or Missao services. The complete names of participants were not mentioned in the thesis nor in related productions, in order to preserve their privacy. Once the final and definitive version of the thesis is published in the University's system, participants will be contacted and receive the link to access it, if ever they express the will to have it. All the information recorded was exclusively used for this research and the productions related to it.

Every participant gave consent in person by signing the form by their own will, without any type of compensations, payment or strings attached. Consent was determined by ensuring that the person was in mental and physical condition to answer the questions in a logic and understandable way, and that she was fully aware of the conditions and the use of the collected data. For this purpose, the consent form was written in a clear and direct way and translated to the languages of the interviewees in questions, to ensure that the person had understood it well. Still, participants were free to quit at any point of the interview or to skip any question that they would prefer not to answer. As following items of this chapter describe, the questions mostly address expectations, prospects, agency and social interactions, aiming to relate as least as possible to traumatic passages or embarrassing information.

It is also acknowledged that some of their answers about Brazil could be potentially biased by my position as a Brazilian interviewer, or by relating me to an official staff from the government that could interfere in their lives depending on their answers. This was avoided by constantly reminding them that I was an independent researcher not related to these authorities, and highlighting the importance to have their honest view about Brazil, no matter how critical they would be. In each of this questions regarding Brazil, I would remind them that I completely understand that the critics do not refer to me but to the country I happened to be born in. Questions with marks or rankings were also left out in order to avoid a potential misunderstanding as if they were giving a mark to me. Questions were left with a more general evaluation, and would emphasise their own appreciations and feelings about certain aspects of the country according to their own experiences - what also aimed to smooth the weight of these answers, stimulating them to give their views more spontaneously without needs for formal justifications.

To identify potential participants, administrative data from CRAI and Missao Paz was used, according to the proportions of gender, age and nationality as explained in the previous item of this chapter. CRAI and Missao Paz agreed to provide such information as I have proved to use it exclusively for the academic purposes of this thesis and respecting all the confidentiality rules and ethical obligations they request - which follow a guideline similar to the Data Protection Act from Cambridge University. The data gathered was saved only in my personal computer and in my HD external memory as a back up - both constantly locked with several passwords only known by me. Absolutely no personal information about interviewees was sent via e-mail, social network or any other way accessible to third parties. Following the Cambridge University Data Protection Act, password changes were enforced and all equipment was kept in secure location with restrict access to authorised personnel.

3.3 - Main research question and subsidiary research questions

The main research question of this whole case study was “***How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?***”. Subsidiary research questions guided the way to gradually reach this answer according to the theoretical framework of the first chapter - based mainly on key aspects of Sen’s Capability Approach, with elements from rights-based approaches (Benhabib and Sassen) and hybrid multicultural studies (Fry and Sansone). The interview questions in the questionnaire were thought and planned to address these subsidiary research questions, so that the final consideration of the whole data (combined with the theoretical reflections indicated) would answer the main research question of the fieldwork.

Table IV - Main research question and subsidiary research questions

Main research question of the whole case study:
“How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?”
Subsidiary research questions:
1) How much agency did interviewees have on their migration choice and why did they choose Brazil?
2a) Which things they have reasons to value in what they consider ‘a good life’?
2b) How has migration affected the capabilities related to the things they have reasons to value?

3) How do they perceive their rights to have a decent life, regardless of the place?
4) How do they perceive and operate their identities in the social interactions in the new city?

3.4 - Research design

The questionnaire combined a line of closed-ended questions regarding some personal characteristics (gender, age, educational level, etc) and circumstances (incomes, time spent in Brazil, employment conditions, access to services and evaluation of these services) - with another line of open-ended questions regarding life stories, opinions and personal values. The closed-ended questions allowed to gather some quantitative data for identifying potential trends and making further comparisons. The open-ended questions enabled to collect qualitative data with subjective perceptions about the situations observed, as well as richer details about interviewees' own values. Roelen and Camfield (2015) reinforce the suitability of this mixed method for contexts of vulnerability (such as this case study), underlining that, whilst quantitative indicators are useful to analyse the living situation of interviewees, qualitative data is important to indicate their perceptions about this situation.

A similar mixed method was adopted by other case studies with migrants in vulnerability such as Hodgett and Clark (2011), also inspired by a capability framework, and Betancourt, Colarossi and Perez, (2013). Not only were these studies assessing the lives of migrants through a mixed method, but also collecting qualitative and quantitative data in the same questionnaire, such as the present case study. These two studies were the main inspiration for this fieldwork in terms of methodology. Hodgett and Clark was the main basis for the preparation of the questionnaire according to a capability framework, aiming to allow as much space as possible for the migrants' own terms and values related to their own conceptions of a good life. Betancourt, Colarossi and Perez (2013) was the main basis especially for the data analysis, since they make firstly a minor quantitative analysis - observing means, frequencies and percentages to describe demographic characteristics, service use, levels of knowledge and concrete difficulties/barriers identified - and subsequently they make a qualitative analysis, coding the transcribed narratives to identify key themes and categories emerging from participants' speech. The following section of this chapter will explore further how the design of this case study dialogues with broader trends in mixed methods.

After testing and adapting five pilots, it was possible to produce a final version of the questionnaire to use. It had four thematic blocks, according to the four subsidiary questions indicated above, which contribute to build the way to answer the thesis main question. The table below sums up the types of information asked in each block and how they relate with the research questions. The complete version of the questionnaire is in the appendix.

Table V - Main points addressed in the questionnaire

<p><u>Introduction Block - Personal characteristics</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closed questions: Indicate your gender, age, nationality, documentation status, educational level, employment and economic status (i.e. indicate your income, its frequency, its main source; how many individuals depend on your financial support). → Objective: to generally describe participants in order to contextualise their answers <p><u>Block 1 - Agency in the migration choice</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mention the main difficulties of your place of origin that made you leave (push factors) - open questions → Objective: contributing to answer the thesis's subsidiary question 1 on agency in the migration choices and reasons to choose Brazil - Mention the things about Brazil that attracted you to migrate there - open questions → Objective: following item above - Mention other countries that you considered to migrate to and reasons why you chose Brazil - open questions → Objective: following item above <p><u>Block 2 – Ideas of a good life and capabilities to pursue it</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2a (ideas of good life)- Mention the most important things in what you consider a good life – open questions → Objective: contributing to answer the thesis' subsidiary question 2a on what participants have reasons to value in what they consider a good life - 2a (ideas of good life)- Mention the means and conditions you consider necessary to achieve this 'good life'- open questions → Objective: following item above - 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things) - Indicate how often you used public services in the place of origin and in São Paulo - closed questions
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→ Objective: contributing to answer the thesis's subsidiary question 2b on effects of migration on their capabilities to pursue the things they value

- 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things)- Describe/explain your evaluation about these services (in both places) - closed questions with scale ("very bad" to "very good") + open question asking why

→ Objective: following item above

- 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things)- Describe your main habits in the daily routine you used to have in the place of origin - open question

→ Objective: following item above

- 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things) - Describe your main habits in your daily routine in São Paulo - open question

→ Objective: following item above

- 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things)- Indicate the frequencies of your personal care in the place of origin and in São Paulo, in terms of meals (1, 2, 3 or more meals per day), exercise (never, once a week, twice, more) and duration of sleep – closed questions

→ Objective: following item above

- 2b (circumstances to pursue valued things)- Indicate your work conditions in the place of origin and in São Paulo: less, equal or more autonomy in job position, appreciation - 'dislike job very much' to 'like very much' – closed questions

→ Objective: following item above

Block 3- Perceptions about basic rights across borders

- Mention the main obstacles that hinder a person to achieve a decent life - open questions

→ Objective: contributing to answer the thesis's subsidiary question 3 on basic rights for a decent life regardless where.

- How did the State in your place of origin influence the possibility of achieving a decent life, and how does the Brazil State influence on this? - open questions

→ Objective: following item above

- Did you expect to have minimal protections and basic conditions after migrating - if so, which protections and conditions were these? - open questions

→ Objective: following item above

- What are your rights in Brazil, and are they the same as those of Brazilians? Open questions
- Objective: following item above

Block 4- Social interactions and cultural liberty

- Indicate any support received from relatives/friends to migrate and to settle in – closed & open questions
- Objective: contributing to answer the thesis's subsidiary question 4 on identities and social interactions
- How are your social interactions in São Paulo and would you say you interact more with Brazilians or compatriots? – closed & open questions
- Objective: following item above
- Describe your main perceptions and opinions about your new life São Paulo – open questions
- Objective: following item above

Extra block (for general insights) - findings analysed throughout the analysis of the previous blocks

- Open questions on their perceptions about their current lives in São Paulo (How do you often feel here? / Would you say you are satisfied with your life here, and why/why not? Which mark would you give to your current life in Brazil and why?)
- gathering more detailed narratives to enrich the findings from previous blocks and contribute to answer the main question more specifically (How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?).

In the introductory block, personal information was collected in order to take into consideration the specificities and heterogeneity of the interviewees in the later analysis. In this initial part, the questionnaire registers basic information such as gender, age, educational level, documentation, as well as employment and economic status. Concerning economic status, it asks about the approximate income per month, the main sources of it (salaries, transfers, freelance jobs, State support, etc.) and about potential dependents (relatives, children, etc). Such a contextualisation is relevant because a mixed methods analysis must keep in mind the socio-economic context in which the interviewee narrates, as underlined by Roelen and Camfield (2015). Key capability studies such as Kuklys (2004) also highlight the importance of considering such variables.

The first block focuses on the agency in the migration choices; enquiring about the factors that influence the departure from the country of origin, the possibilities one had to choose among

different destinations, and the reasons to have chosen Brazil. The goal here was to acknowledge both the pushing factors of the place of origin (the difficulties, deprivations or other issues influencing that person to leave there) and the pulling factor of the destination (the positive characteristics that the person associated with the destination, which motivated her to consider moving there). This block also asks if Brazil was the initial destination to which the person considered to migrate, or if she thought about other countries as preferable, as well as leaving space for the person to comment if she moved directly to Brazil or passed through a transit country. The intention with this was to explore the concept of adaptive preferences so central to the Capability Approach, examining how the availability of opportunities could have influenced the final choice of these individuals and their appreciation about their situation after choosing. In the sequence, this block asks about the main concerns before migrating, and if any friend/acquaintance (in the place of origin or in Brazil) provided support and information about these concerns - so as to examine if the person had constraints and/or support in her freedom to move.

In the second block of questions, the focus goes to interviewees' ideas of a good life, and subsequently to their concrete circumstances when pursuing it. Firstly, it asks interviewees to indicate spontaneously which things they find most important in what they consider a good life. They were not directly requested to justify their reasons to value such things, although many have spontaneously commented in this direction since the questions were open. The person was also invited to rank the importance of the mentioned things according to her own judgement. This second block also has another set of questions addressing interviewees' circumstances in the pursuit of these things they have reasons to value. It enquires about concrete conditions related to these valued things, such as the services and material resources associated with them. This part asks not only about the access to services and resources in Brazil, but also about interviewees' evaluations of them, comparing with their places of origin. This set aimed to identify key ways individuals had to pursue the things they associate with a good life, acknowledging the factors that help or hinder their possibility to achieve these things. Another part of this block deals with the main changes in functionings. It asks about what the person can do or be in the place of origin and in the new context, such as most common activities and states of mind related to them. This part analyses the main changes in interviewees' routines after migrating.

In the third block, the topic shifts to transnational rights, examining how participants see the influence of States on their rights, both in the place of origin and in Brazil. They were also asked about which minimal protections and basic conditions they expected to have when migrating. This deals with their perceptions on rights across borders, in order to examine their awareness about

the rights to which they are entitled in Brazil even not being a national. Such discussions open space to think about the concepts of transnational claims for basic rights, raised in the thesis theoretical framework.

Finally, the fourth block deals with personal identities and social interactions. The questions enquire about the main social relations of the interviewee, examining if and how they have influenced the migration decision, as well as if and how they influence their integration in São Paulo. For this purpose, it was not suitable to use traditional approaches of migrants' networks such as Harris and Todaro (1970) and DaVanzo (1981) focusing on location-specific human capital, nor Carrington, Detragiache & Vishwanath (1996) looking at information costs, Chau (1997) examining population equilibria related to networks, or O'Connell (1997) analysing speculative behaviour. These models would not suit the research in question, firstly because they employ long-term data sets and monitor individuals for extended periods with repeated interviews. Such a coverage was not feasible in this fieldwork owing to limitations on time, human capital and logistics. Secondly, these models mostly deal with general trends of the network's perpetuation, while the proposed research emphasises networks' influence on individuals' choices. In this direction, examining individual perceptions about networks was more relevant than analysing group behaviour and its social patterns overtime. Moreover, this research did not aim to analyse the characteristics of networks as most of these models do, but to assess whether (and how) networks had influenced individual migration choices.

The additional block at the very end aimed to capture more detailed narratives that would help to enrich the findings of the previous blocks. This part is not further explored since the focus of this thesis is not the dimension of happiness, emotions or satisfaction, such as followed by capability studies of Veenhoven (2010), Hasan (2013) and Hirai, Comim & Ikemoto (2016). Therefore, this part was added to the questionnaire just to provide extra insights and deeper narratives that would contribute to answer the thesis's main question concerning perceptions of changes in one's life. All the findings from this extra block will be analysed throughout the examination of the previous blocks, in order to enrich the analysis and provide extra variables and narratives to the dimensions they address.

3.5 - Mixed methods adopted and justification

Roelen & Camfield (2015) reinforce the importance of using mixed methods to measure some relative subjective details with qualitative measurements, as well as to have some comparability among more objective characteristics of interviewees. These authors identify at least

three main approaches combining qualitative and survey data in development studies, according to the intensity of their commitment to this integrated work. The 'putting together' or 'triangulation' approach combines different methods dealing with the same topic to enrich or question the data from a single method, such as in Shaffer, Kanbur, Thang & Bortei-Doku (2008) or De Weerd (2010). In the 'sequential integration' approach, the outputs of one method contribute to design the application of the other. An example in this direction is the qual-quant-qual line of Davis and Baulch (2009), using focus groups in the initial phase, household surveys in the subsequent phase, and then life history interviews. A third approach to mixed methods adopts a 'holistic integration', intentionally combining methods to produce a contextualised 'case archive' with varied types of qualitative and quantitative data collected at different levels (Burawoy, 1998; Seeley et al., 1995). The holistic integration was the approach adopted to collect data in the case study, as further explained below.

Methods used to collect data

Following the mixed method line of holistic integration indicated above, the fieldwork used a single questionnaire combining open and closed questions in order to collect qualitative and quantitative data that would complement each other in the analysis later on. Mixed methods showed efficiency in other studies with migrants in vulnerability - such as Cheng (2011), who chose to apply the quantitative and qualitative parts separated, and Li, Morrow and Kermode (2010), who chose to mix only qualitative methods. The choice for this fieldwork was to collect both qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously, inspired by Hodgett and Clark (2011). This was the inspiration because it had precisely a capability-inspired perspective dealing with migrants in vulnerability. They progress gradually to encourage the interviewees not only to describe their life stories but also to include their appreciations about it. This allows to cover their underlying meanings of a good life and of individual values, which are so relevant for a capability framework. The model was only an initial inspiration, since adaptations and changes naturally needed to be made to suit the specific group addressed in the thesis.

Before holding the interviews, I attended several social events of CRAI and Missão Paz in order to get familiar with the environment and the most common topics raised in informal conversations among the migrants. In the sequence, I made a brief focus group with ten volunteer migrants, in order to capture their main comments and use it as a general guideline for an initial draft of the questionnaire - such as indicated in qualitative research recommendations from Rabiee (2004). After that, I made five pilot interviews to test the questionnaire drafts, in order to reshape and adapt it according to the needs and problems identified during this initial test.

Combining qualitative and quantitative data, it was possible to capture individual appreciations in deeper details (expectations, opinions, appreciations), but gather information that would allow some minimal comparison of objective matters (age, gender, income, educational level, documentation status, etc.). For the qualitative part, the questionnaire proposed open questions to which interviewees could answer in their own words. To collect the more objective information for the quantitative part, the questionnaire had some sections with fixed answers that the participants could choose.

The open questions were chosen because they allow to understand in more depth the perceptions of migrants about their migration and settlement and comment on it in their own words. The adequacy of such a line of inquiry is widely recognised in similar migration studies such as Eggerth, DeLaney, Flynn, and Jacobson (2011); Lu, Marks, and Apavaloiae (2012); Spitzer, Neufeld, Harrison, Hughes & Stewart (2003).

Moreover, this perspective opens space for discoveries that are not likely to emerge in more structural or statistical approaches - such as details in the discourses that reveal unexpected motivations and appreciations. This approach also brings critical views to concepts of agency, morality, and ethics in forced migration and humanitarianism studies. As expressed in Chatty's words (2015, p.12): "It is a body of work that has helped maintain a balance between state-centric work in politics, international relations, and law with a continuing interest in the refugees and forced migrants themselves. This above all else has been its most important contribution: the perspective and voice of the forced migrant, the phenomenological encounter that permits the uprooted, the displaced, and the refugee to break out from the category of 'object of study' and to bring to life the individual experience of dispossession" .

This line also permits to capture rich, descriptive data about people's behaviours and perceptions, as well as unfolding complex processes, as underlined by Lu and Gatua (2014). A standard set of open questions was proposed to all interviewees, allowing them to take their time to answer, and not restricting their answers to binary options. Besides the interviews, notes, conversations, observations and memos were developed during the fieldwork in order to support the interpretation and conclusions, as suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1994). In addition, this in-depth line seemed the most appropriate for the population concerned because, as put by Lu and Gatua (2014, p.2): "it affords the opportunity to emphatically represent, involve, and benefit understudied populations by allowing the researcher to enter into participants' worlds and express participants' experiences in their own words, not via pre-established quantitative scales".

Furthermore, the emphasis on the qualitative side seemed the most appropriate for the small sample interviewed, since it did not aim to be statistically representative of the entire migrant

population in contemporary Brazil, similarly to the main guideline of Hodgett and Clark (2011). As explained previously, the sample consists of a significant part of the newly-arrived vulnerable migrants in São Paulo currently living in charity houses. The intention was to examine in depth the appreciations of these specific migrants about their personal development in São Paulo. Concerning this particular group of migrants in this specific city, the sample even presents a significant proportion, as shown in previous sections of this chapter. However, the main goal was not to reach this statistical relevance on a broader level, but to analyse personal appreciations and reflect about the insights that this case study might bring to migration discussions in this context.

In this direction, Roelen and Camfield (2015, p.733) summarise: “While case study research is not generalizable in the sense that it can be used to draw valid inferences about a population (Yin 2003), it can create thick descriptions and rich understandings of social contexts that have relevance and resonance across societies and be used to generate theoretical propositions.” Studies such as Bevan (2014), Du Toit (2004) and Reddy & Olsen (2012) have also derived from case studies with mixed methods some relevant reflections about the broader context analysed. Analysing the histories of interviewees it is possible to identify abstract processes behind it, which opens space for understanding broader interactions and social contexts within which these individual actions are happening. Camfield and Roelen (2015, p.733) add: “(...) what actually happened in this specific instance as a result of context, path dependence, the actions and interactions of protagonists, and the mechanisms and processes at work and their consequences.” Sen (2003) himself has underlined that the difficulties narrated by interviewees can indicate intersections of social, economic and geographical factors causing these challenges.

Method used to analyse the data

The data analysis from Betancourt, Colarossi and Perez (2013) was a guideline for the analytical phase of this fieldwork because it developed a minor examination of the quantitative data collected - through the identification of frequencies, means and percentages to identify key patterns regarding personal characteristics and concrete conditions - combined with a major examination of the qualitative data collected - through the identification of key categories that emerged from the coded narratives. Such an approach seemed suitable to analyse the collected data according to the priorities of the main research questions, which relate to material conditions but also (and mainly) to individual appreciations about it.

Concerning the qualitative interpretation of the data collected, the method chosen was Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis, CAQDAS, since it helps to meet minimum standards of descriptive and interpretive validity (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; Seale, 1999). CAQDAS is a term introduced by Fielding and Lee in 1991 that refers to the range of software that supports a

variety of analytic styles in qualitative work. The data collected in the interviews were studied several times to identify categories and patterns. Then with the support of this tool, this data was segmented and coded according to central themes. The CAQDAS software chosen was ATLAS.ti owing to its analytical strength and accessible system, such as underlined by Gibbs (2013) and Friese (2014). Authors in qualitative researches have been highlighting the suitability of this tool: "(...) they are offering high levels of data organisation and handling, analysing large amounts of data much faster than traditional techniques and helping the researchers to take into account all available data" (Iosifides, 2003, p.441). Thus, Atlas.ti was used to divide, classify and organise the answers collected in the narratives with considerable precision.

The questionnaire had versions in four languages - English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, which was applied according to the preference of the interviewee. This way, participants could answer in the language that they feel more comfortable – what enabling the collection of more detailed and fluid narratives. Since I master these four languages, I asked the questions in the language chosen by the interviewee. The passages written in the thesis are my own free translation to English.

For the quantitative analysis, the open-ended answers were computed in Stata software, in order to build graphs to facilitate its illustration. Stata was also used to draw potential correlations among variables - this did not aim to identify any general rule/trend or to test patterns. It aimed to show how certain characteristics appeared associated in the particular sample, acknowledging that it is too small for any further generalisations for the broader migrant population in the country.

The minor quantitative analysis was added to consider objective conditions of the interviewees, since this is a relevant element when measuring capabilities. As highlighted by Comim (2008, p.170): "Capabilities are best seen as objective properties of the characterisation of individuals' general and specific freedom(s) and not as subjective as individual preferences. (...) The same capability may vary in its specification or valuation between societies but perceived, from the analyst's perspective, as an objective reality." The objective conditions must be considered because they influence on individuals' perceptions about their objective realities. Thus, in order to assess capabilities, it does not suffice to examine only the subjective comments of the individuals, since these comments are often distorted by their concrete circumstances. As indicated in the initial chapter, the material realities of different people might shape what they dare to desire, and therefore their view about it. Sen argues that the Capability Approach has been more sensitive than utility-based approaches to understand this adjustment of expectations that might mislead utility metrics (Sen, 1992). This difficulty of 'adaptive preference' can not be overcome in the measurement of capabilities if only subjective questions are used (Comim, Qizilbash, Alkire, 2008).

Although these measurement challenges are often highlighted in the Capability Approach, such difficulty does not invalidate the contributions of this literature, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Measurement can help to bring practical value to an approach, but it is not a necessary condition to apply it. Comim, Qizilbash and Alkire (2008) explain this issue: “While much of the conceptual and measurement literature has focused on the capability approach as identifying an appropriate space for evaluation, (...) a rich literature has also emerged on generating prospective policies, activities and recommendations, particularly in the context of development conceived as capability expansion. The capability approach has proven to be a powerful tool in this arena quite independent of any work on measurement. At the most general level the approach has changed the language of policy work and public discussion on topics such as poverty, the quality of life and inequality.” (p.xxxii).

The following chapters analyse and brings reflections upon the main findings of this fieldwork, especially those concerning the dimensions of agency, basic rights and cultural liberty, as well as the things that interviewees have reasons to value in what they considered ‘a good life’. Throughout the analysis, the chapters will dialogue with relevant literature on migration, capability, human rights and cultural diversity, underlining how some of the findings might contribute to key debates in these areas.

CHAPTER 4

“REFLECTIONS ABOUT AGENCY:

CHOICE CONSTRAINTS AND PERSONAL REASONS TO MIGRATE”

To examine how participants perceive the impacts of migration on their lives, it is important to analyse their agency in the migratory process. As explained in the initial chapter, agency is a central aspect for the Capability Approach, which emphasises the importance of examining what a person is free to do when pursuing whatever values she considers important (Sen, 1984). As Sen indicates : “Agency freedom is freedom to achieve whatever the person, as a responsible agent, decides she should achieve. That open conditionality makes the nature of agency freedom quite different from that of well-being freedom, which concentrates on a particular type of objective and judges opportunities correspondingly” (1984, p.203). This agency freedom is relevant when examining what a person can do in line with her conception of the good. It consists of the capability to take decisions in certain personal spheres and to choose some basic features of one’s own life. In this line, it is important to consider what a person would have chosen if she had control over alternatives of her choice. This means not only observing what she achieved, but also comparing it to what she would have chosen, and observing whether or not she actually did the choosing (Sen, 1983). Following this perspective, this section addresses the thesis’ subsidiary question 1: ‘How much agency did interviewees have on their migration choice and why did they choose Brazil?’.

The need for a more nuanced view of agency in current migration studies has been highlighted by Briones (2009) and Näre (2014). They demonstrate how key bodies of migration literature tend to a dualism that sees migrants from poor backgrounds as either victims of employers, smugglers and globalising forces on the one hand, or as self-supporting agents on the other hand. The present case study reinforces the need of the more nuanced view of agency proposed by Näre, a view that dialogues with the Capability Approach. This view does not focus so much on the classic dilemma of Social Sciences between structure and agency (i.e how social aspects influence human agents, such as in Archer (2003) or Callinicos (2004), but especially on how to understand agency in this context. It does not see migrants either as victims of structures or as self- standing agents. Instead, it sees agency in a continuum that goes beyond this dualism, following Näre’s (2014) reading of the CA’s concept of agency (2014). This continuum presents different dimensions of agency in times of constraint and opportunity. In this continuum, individuals can be successful in developing their own capabilities and putting them to use, albeit with limited resources. This reinforces that having agency involves not only action to change one’s life, but also adaptation to the existing situation. Interviewees have shown behaviours in this direction - while

they acknowledged that certain constraints could not be overcome, they still took action to adapt to that situation according to their values, and to use migration to acquire new capabilities. In this sense, it is possible to say that they make use of mobility as a form of agency.

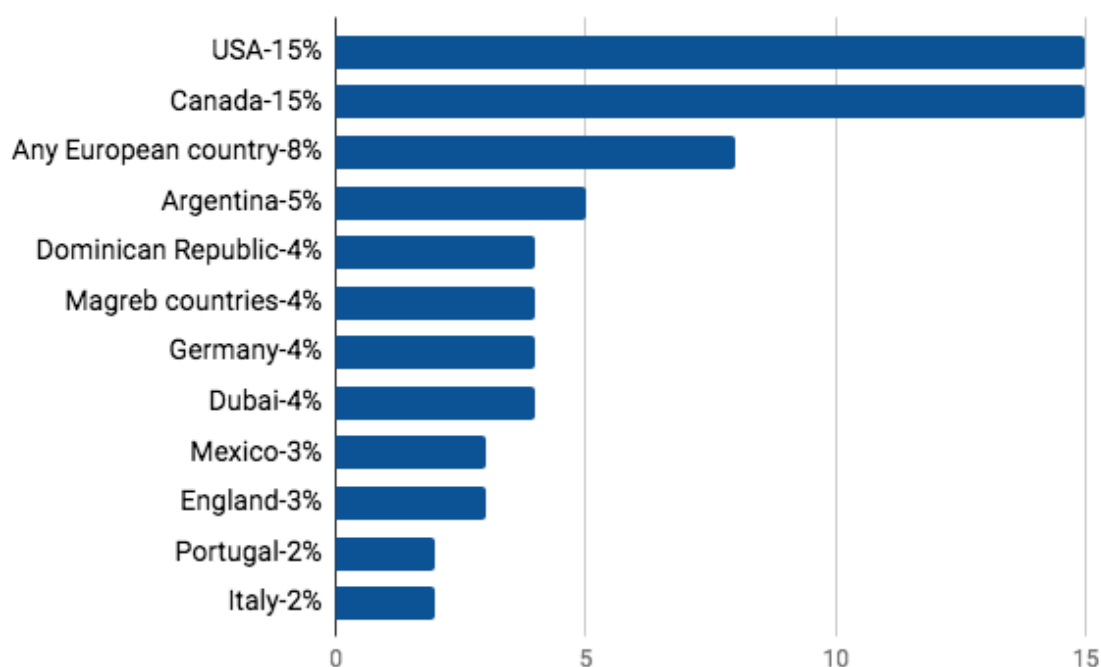
Therefore, the proposition here is to see agency in a continuum that comprises different stages of resistance, action (and non-action), reception and adaptation. This concept of agency best captures actions in situations of social change such as in this migration context, since it accounts for the element of chance inherent in these situations. In these contexts, habits alone cannot guide action in meaningful ways anymore. This concept of agency considers the new forms of action required in situations of social change better than concepts of agency focusing on reflexivity and deliberation.

Alternatives in the choice process

Following this direction, the case study included questions concerning participants' decisions about migrating, in order to examine how free they were to choose other destinations that they might have preferred. A main concern was to identify if Brazil was the preferred choice of most interviewees. Brazil is an emergent economy with more structural difficulties than traditional destinations in the global North (UNDP, 2015). Considering this, one could be tempted to think that it would not be the ideal choice, but a more feasible alternative than Northern countries with stricter barriers, such as suggested by Balch (2010). Nevertheless, some characteristics of these South destinations might make them a preferred choice for many migrants - for instance owing to shorter distance, cultural similarities, lower costs, more network support etc., such as Ratha and Shaw (2007) suggest. Thus, developing countries cannot automatically be seen as 'second best' options, since they have also been attracting migrants for multiple reasons related to their own particularities (IOM, 2017; World Bank, 2015; UNHRC, 2014).

In order to examine this choice dimension, the questionnaire asked about other destinations considered by interviewees to migrate to. A relevant finding is that many of the alternatives considered were not necessarily wealthier or 'more developed' than Brazil. Some countries mentioned are also from the so-called 'developing world'.

Figure C – Other destinations considered:



A very relevant finding in this dimension is that more than a half of participants (54%) indicated that Brazil was their first choice to migrate. There are at least five different interpretations to understand this.

Firstly, it could be because the most valued thing was to migrate in itself – with it mattering less where they migrated to. In this view, migration would be valued as an act of freedom praised in itself, and the pursuit of a decent life through migration would be seen as a basic right to which one is entitled, such as suggested by Sassen (2010) and Benhabib (2009), and as Chapter 6 will further analyse.

A second interpretation could be that these developing destinations might present other appealing advantages different from rich traditional destinations (for instance lower costs, cultural or geographical proximity, fewer barriers for entrance, a high presence of networks in these destinations etc.), such as Ratha and Shaw (2007) would suggest and another section of this chapter will analyse when dealing with the dimensions of resources and interactions.

A third interpretation for this is the basic acknowledgment that answers concerning a certain behaviour do not directly reflect the actual behaviour, as underlined by authors addressing narrative effects such as Halbwachs (1950) and Barthes (1977). These bodies of literature remind us that recapitulation is naturally influenced by experiences lived after the episode and by the current circumstances in which they are told. Furthermore, some interviewees might narrate their

path as if the current situations were already planned, giving a general sense of coherence and fulfilment when talking about their previous decisions.

A fourth interpretation would see the choice as not necessarily correspondent to one's view about her own welfare, but a result of several other influences from outside the choice function itself, following Sen's critique (1993) of utilitarian views and rational choice theories referred in the initial chapter (Arrow, 1950; Bentham, 1789; Edgeworth, 1881; Marshall, 1890; Pigou, 1920). This critical line emphasises that the reasons for one's choice relate not only to the pursuit of personal benefits and calculus about one's personal welfare, but also relate to one's material circumstances, social surroundings and actual possibilities. This view argues that human behaviour involves much more than maximising gains in terms of one's preferences, reminding that many choices are made under social responsibility and not uniquely the pursuit of one's welfare (Sen, 1973). According to utilitarian approaches, when a person chooses things that do not correspond to the maximisation of her preferences, she is either acting irrationally/inconsistently, or this might indicate that her preferences are changing. In response to that, Sen's critique (1997) states that the lapse of time makes it difficult to distinguish between inconsistencies and changing tastes, and that there are few systematic attempts proving the consistency of people's day-to-day behaviour.

Following this line, we would see this choice for Brazil as a decision that is also related to material circumstances and social influences, not simply as a calculus for maximising personal welfare. In order to assess the influence of social ties in the interviewees' decision, there were questions asked about the existence of friends or acquaintances linked to Brazil before they moved (both living in the country of origin or in Brazil itself), and the role that these relations have played in the migration decisions. This line of enquiry proved significant in key migration studies addressing social ties, such as Munshi and Rosenzweig (2016) and Guilmoto and Sandron (2001). However, differently from what such literature would expect, the influence of these ties in this sample did not prove to have a decisive influence on the migration choice. Almost half of the sample (45%) had no friend/acquaintance linked to Brazil before migrating at all. Among the rest of the sample that did have relations and friends linked to Brazil, 60% answered that this had no direct influence on the migration decision.

Finally, a fifth interpretation for such a high preference for Brazil would be that most interviewees would not even consider Northern destinations, owing to their stricter barriers. This relates to discussions on adaptive preferences that are central for the Capability Approach, reminding that the options available for a person might influence not only her choice, but sometimes even her desires (Comim, 2003). This means that concrete circumstances and

probable constraints can shape what an individual dares to wish. Therefore, when a person says that Brazil was their first and unique option, in some cases this might reflect that she had not even considered other countries with well-known difficulties for entrance, or that were too far, or that had language barriers, etc. As Teschl and Comim highlight : “The CA argument says that people might adapt to certain unfavorable circumstances and any self-evaluation in terms of satisfaction or happiness will in this case necessarily be distorted. (2007, p.1)”

At a first sight, one could consider it problematic to include adaptive preferences in the analysis, since it would make it too difficult to assess a person's views about her choices. However, Teschl and Comim (2007) remind that this is a narrow view of adaptation that considers it as a negative phenomenon, which is not always the case. This case study dialogues with such a view from adaptation (as having possible positive sides for agency too), combining with contributions from Näre's (2014) use of the CA in mobility contexts) - which understands agency not simply as active action, but also including transformation through reception and adaptation. This means understanding agency as adapting to one's circumstances, as well as creating alternative forms of action - which requires a capability to act.

Following this line, the agency of interviewees is not understood here as a dualism of active versus inactive, as if it was simply a question of moving rigidly from inaction to action. Instead, agency here is understood as a continuum, moving from adaptation and reception to the capability to act. As Näre explains: “Hence, the relevant question to ask is not whether a person can express her agency, or, to what extent she is a victim of the social forces, but rather, in which ways can she practise her agency despite structural constraints, what are the outcomes (the various forms of individual and social change) that her agency brings about, and in which ways could her capability to act be enforced?” (2014, p.225)

Although initially most migrants declare that Brazil has always been their first choice, they might mean it already acknowledging that several other destinations would not even been imaginable for them. Therefore, a classical utilitarian view is not suitable nor enough to understand this context, since it does not examine if the choice would be the same if all alternatives were equally available. Concerning this issue, Sen underlines that “Intelligent moral choice demands that we not choose - explicitly or by default - an alternative that we can see is morally inferior to another feasible alternative. But this does not require that the chosen alternative be seen to be "best" in that set of feasible alternatives, since there may be no best alternative at all, given the incompleteness of our moral ranking.” (1984, p.181). Still on this domain, it is important to underline that behaviour may not be based on systematic comparisons of alternatives, and that the person in question may not have a connected preference pattern. In addition to that, it is difficult to assess if certain

alternatives are not considered because of constraints or simply owing to the person's indifference (Sen, 1973).

Reasons for choosing Brazil

Still, it does not suffice to explain migration towards Brazil only because other alternatives were not available or reachable. Particular characteristics of Brazil itself might also have counted, as the findings of this fieldwork have also indicated.

Firstly, most of the sample comes either from a Portuguese-speaking country, or a neighbour nation with similar language (Spanish), or from countries with special diplomatic facilities. Lusophone interviewees who did not master another foreign language indicated this linguistic similarity among their motivations to migrate. The specific location of Brazil was another aspect underlined by Latin Americans who preferred to stay within the region - mainly for being closer to their relatives and/or for spending less and/or for being familiar with a culture with which they share similarities. Similar motivations related to geographical proximity as well as linguistic and cultural similarities are highlighted by South-South migration studies such as Ratha and Shaw (2007). Brazil was also attractive for some interviewees from countries that have entrance facilities, such as the free mobility within the regional trade bloc Mercosur, or the humanitarian visas granted for Haitians explained previously.

Moreover, most of the mentioned reasons to migrate were more related to new opportunities and broader prospects than to higher salaries directly. This tendency was also found in capability-inspired studies such as Hart (2016) and Hodgett and Clark (2011), demonstrating how aspirations would go beyond anticipations of economic gains. This reinforces the adequacy of the Capability Approach for this case study, since it covers several layers of development beyond incomes and resources, as indicated in the first chapter.

The reasons to migrate most emphasised by interviewees basically follow two tendencies: one more related to difficulties and frustrations in the place of origin, and the other linked to the expectations about life abroad. Overall, 7 main reasons relate to expectations concerning the destination (displayed in the figure), and other 12 relate to difficulties in the place of origin (displayed in the subsequent figure). At first glance, this scenario of fleeing difficulties and pursuing attractive points seems to concueth the traditional notion of 'push vs pull factors' from foundational migration studies (Ravenstein, 1885). Although this might be a useful element for a first organisation of the reasons to migrate observed, a more complete and detailed explanation must go further beyond this in order to consider the extra layers of complexity related to choice behaviour, as this section discusses.

In what concerns the difficulties in the place of origin, although there was a considerable reference to concrete problems such as lack of infrastructure, corruption, economic crisis and low salaries, the most emphasised reasons were more general and abstract, relating to lack of opportunities. A similar tendency is remarkable in the attractive factors of the destination, with a predominance of abstract elements too. Around half of the sample declared to search mostly for life enhancement and broader opportunities, while only 15% or less mentioned material dimensions such as salaries or infrastructure. Such a scenario confirms the tendencies mentioned in Preibisch, Dodd and Su (2016), which indicate the strong weight of immaterial reasons and abstract values in individual aspirations concerning migration. This case study brings even more detailed contributions in this direction, since participants give further emphasis on cultural aspects that they related to the destination - indicating that these individuals were attracted not only by more opportunities and prospects in the destination, but also by cultural features of this place that they considered positive.

Reflecting about these immaterial dimensions is particularly relevant when addressing a developing context like Brazil. Since Brazil is a developing destination facing structural difficulties that are widely known, these migrants could already expect obstacles in material dimensions. Some of the material and concrete problems indicated in the country of origin in the figures below, such as lack of jobs, political corruption, insecurity, low salaries or lack of infrastructure, could also be expected when migrating to Brazil – although less severe in intensity than in the poorer countries of origin. However, these material dimensions were not so strongly mentioned as more intangible dimensions of opportunities.

Therefore, many migrants can identify a considerable improvement in their lives after migrating to Brazil, not simply because they reached a place with higher salaries or better infrastructure, but because they had the very opportunity to try to search for a better life. The very chance to explore, discover and try on one's own was strongly emphasised by all interviewees. The will for a change and the opportunity to pursue one's improvement are key aspects to understand the the thesis question concerning the changes in participants' lives.

Moreover, it is important to consider some of these motivations for migration choices as strategies to minimise risks, as key studies in migration literature would indicate (Abelson & Levi, 1985; Gubert, 2002; Guilmoto & Sandron, 2001; Stark & Taylor, 1991). These authors remind that, in contexts pursuing risk minimisation, any destination providing slightly better conditions to achieve a good life is already seen as a satisfactory solution, without necessarily being optimal.

Figure D - Main reasons for migrating (related to the place of origin):

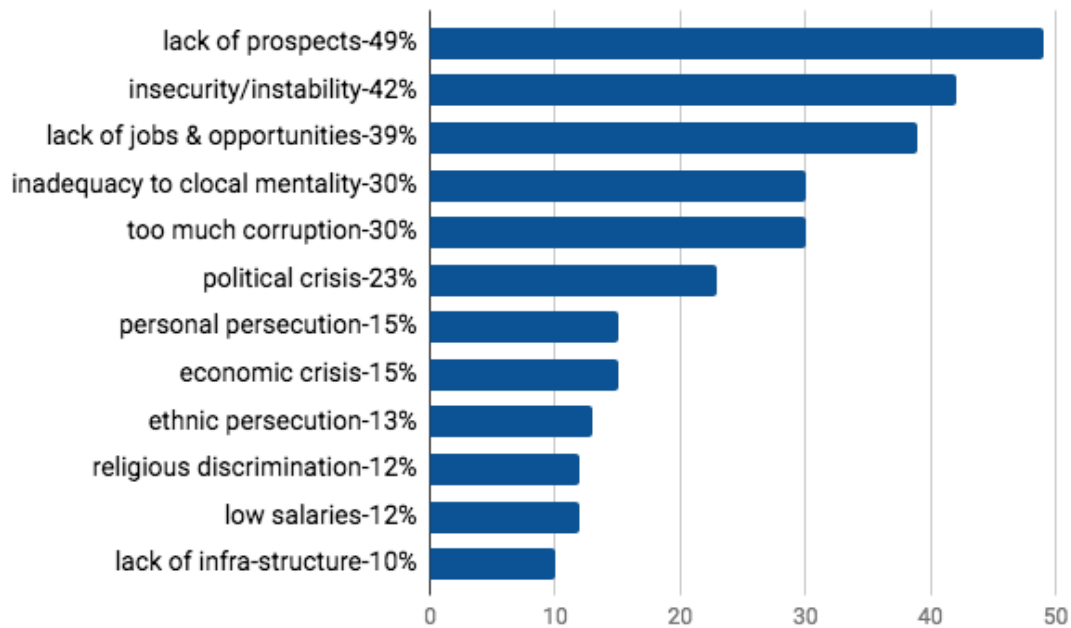
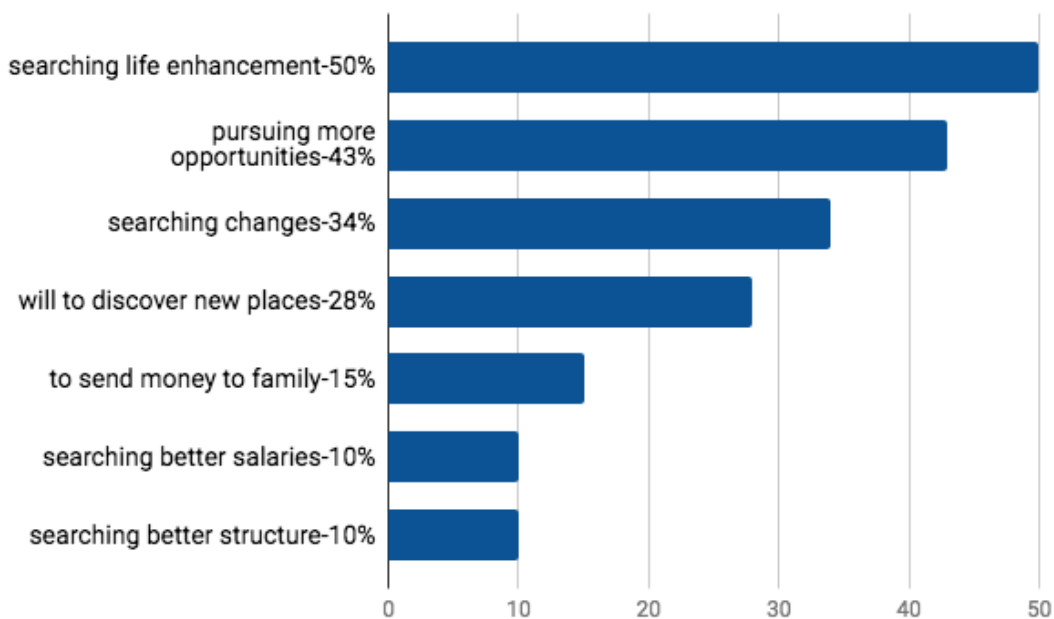


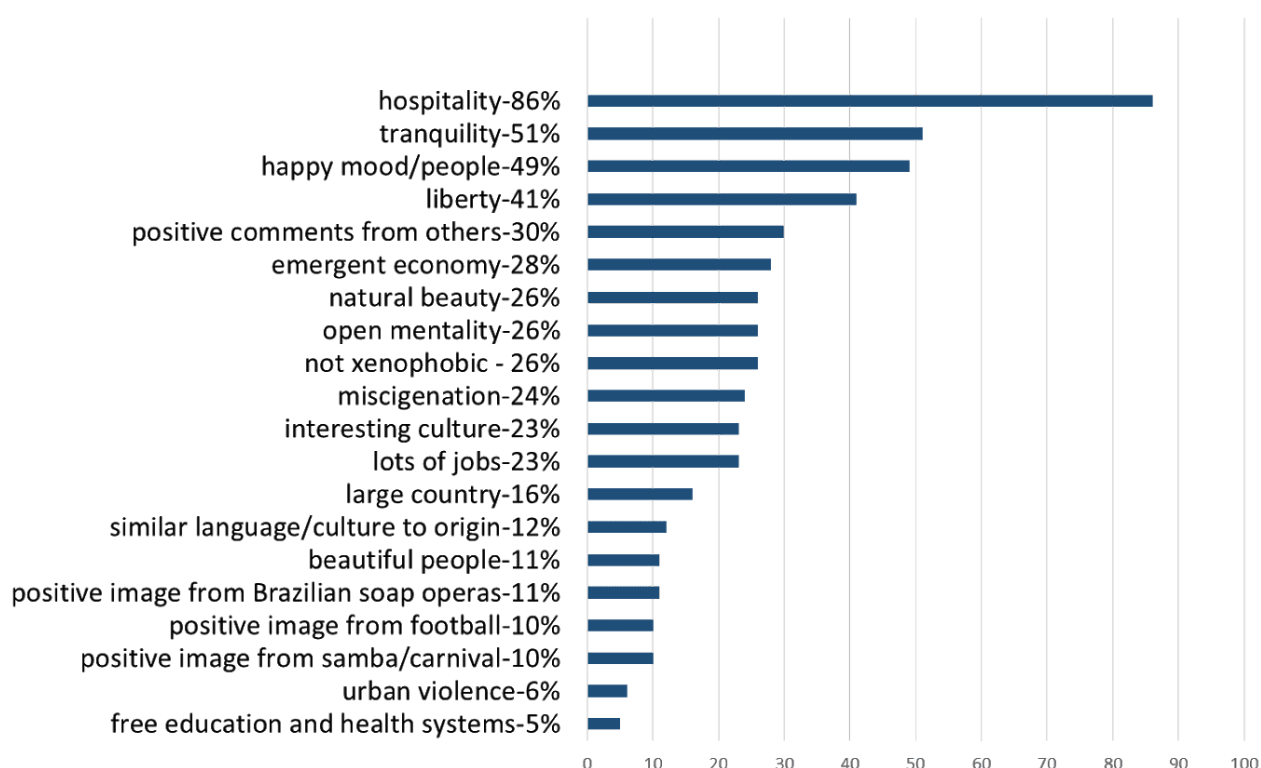
Figure E - Main reasons for migrating (related to the destination):



This tendency to mention intangible and abstract elements was also strong when explaining the reasons for choosing Brazil specifically. The aspects that interviewees most related to Brazil were not in the sphere of resources or material expectations. Instead, more abstract dimensions

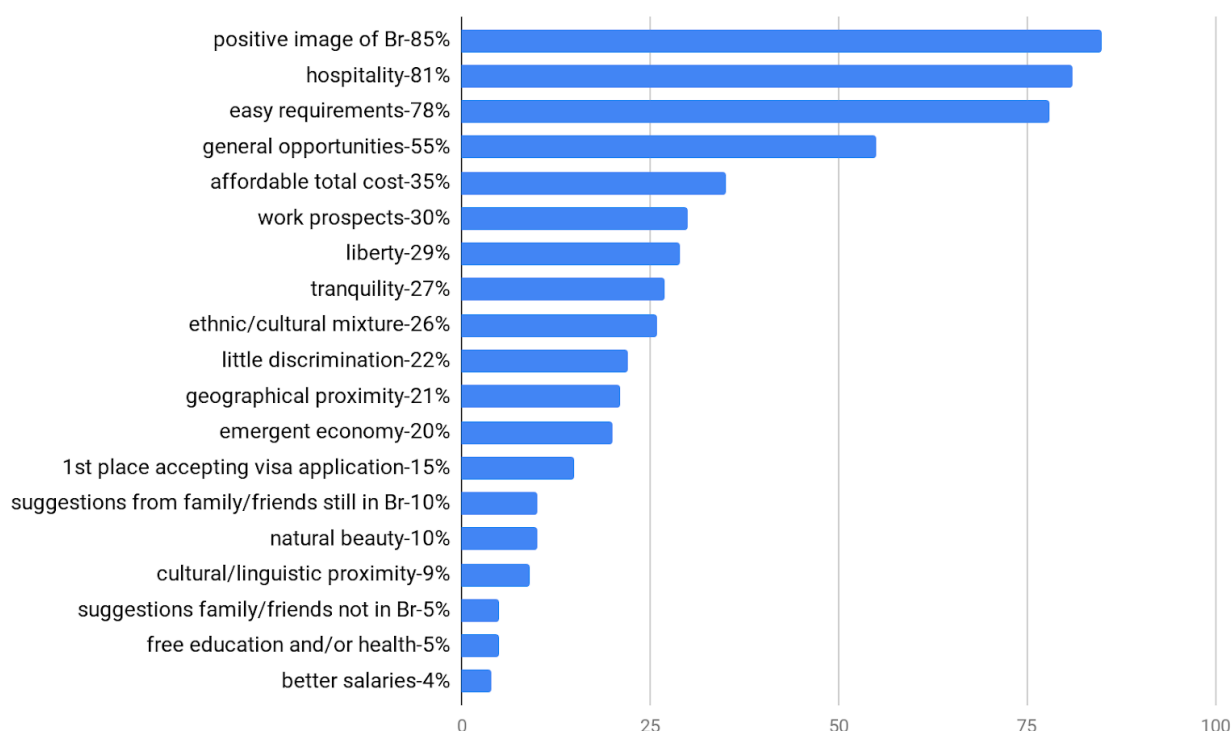
such as hospitality, cultural diversity, opportunities and more prospects were the elements that they most associated with Brazil. Overall, although interviewees chose Brazil under certain mobility restrictions and economic constraints, they do emphasise they had personal reasons to choose Brazil specifically.

Figure F – Images about Brazil when considering to migrate



Though 80% declare that they were already aware of some difficulties of Brazil before migrating, they do mention valuable reasons for choosing the country specifically. The following figure indicates the 20 most mentioned reasons, which were answered spontaneously to an open question. There is a remarkable presence of abstract concepts (such as ‘hospitality’ cited by 81%, or ‘opportunities’ by 55%), followed by more concrete/practical elements such as facility to enter (78%), affordable costs (35%) or geographic proximity (22%). Though other studies in similar contexts indicate a strong influence of networks in migration decisions (Guilmoto & Sandron, 2001; Petit, 2007), in this case study these ties did not present such a relevance, with only around 10% mentioning it, and just as secondary aspect. Expectations of higher salaries were mentioned by only a tiny minority - the reasons emphasised in economic terms were more general and abstract images, such as ‘emergent economy’ and ‘work prospects’.

Figure G – Reasons to choose Brazil specifically:



This dimension shows that even some important decisions seem to be taken on the basis of incomplete thinking about the possible courses of action. Many interviewees have chosen Brazil based on very vague ideas about the cultural hospitality and the emergent economy of the country, which were not so strictly checked as the utilitarian view would expect. Most participants acknowledged that moving to Brazil did not require special skills, credentials or even physical force - it was enough to have the basic capabilities. Very similarly to the context analysed by Näre (2014), in the present case study the opportunity to act was linked to having the means and the capability to buy a ticket and show only a tourist visa. This scenario also presents the strong role of chance, and is based on actions not strongly premeditated or reflected upon. Situations of social change such as in this case study bring unknown circumstances, where judgements based on previous habits and imaginations might not work anymore. In such a scenario, individuals might tend to ad hoc decision-making and a considerable reliance on chance, as Näre (2014) underlines. Still, chance can often be overlooked by migration studies that insist on portraying migrants as economically calculating subjects, such as the views based on utility and rationality mentioned previously, or studies emphasising deliberation and conscious reflection (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Although this judgement among possible trajectories (based on previous habits) is a relevant feature of agency, migration contexts involve novel circumstances - and this requires the capacity to act in new ways, very often comprising the element of the unknown. In these situations of social change, it is difficult to judge among trajectories of action, because in these unknown conditions one's habitual practices might not be applicable anymore. Considering this, Näre (2014) underlines the suitability of the CA's concept of agency for analysing migration contexts, since it takes into account new capabilities and opportunities to act in a dynamic and creative way. This allows us to understand how individuals use their existing capabilities in creating new ways of action.

CHAPTER 5

“INTERVIEWEES’ IDEAS OF A GOOD LIFE AND RELATED FINDINGS”

This chapter examines interviewees’ main ideas of a good life and how their current situations were enabling or obstructing them to achieve these things. Firstly, an introduction section indicates the main personal characteristics of interviewees, in order to contextualise and describe key features of the sample. In the sequence, the sections present the main discoveries about what interviewees have reasons to value in what they consider a good life, with a blend of quantitative data (with graphs indicating tendencies/co-variances/frequencies/etc.) and qualitative data (with quotes from interviewees). This data is analysed alongside with comments concerning relevant situations observed in the field and references to key migration studies and capability studies. All these discoveries are analysed using the theoretical framework indicated in the initial chapter.

This chapter aims to answer the second section of the research question, regarding interviewees’ ideas of a good life and main capabilities to achieve it - namely, Subsidiary Question 2a “Which things interviewees have reasons to value in what they consider ‘a good life’?”, and Subsidiary question 2b “How has migration affected the capabilities related to the things they have reasons to value?”. Sen’s Capability Approach is the guideline for this chapter’s analysis, examining interviewees’ ideas of a good life and how migration has affected their capabilities to pursue it, since these are crucial dimensions for understanding the changes in individuals’ lives in a human-centred perspective.

Table VI - Sections analysing key findings related to the research questions

Introduction Section - Main personal characteristics of interviewees and related findings

Section 1: The agency aspect: choice constraints and reasons to choose Brazil

→ Subsidiary question 1: ‘How much agency did interviewees have on their migration choice and why did they choose Brazil?’

Section 2: Interviewees’ ideas of a good life and main capabilities to achieve it

→ Subsidiary question 2a: “Which things interviewees have reasons to value in what they consider ‘a good life’?”: + Subsidiary question 2b ‘How has migration affected the capabilities

related to the things they have reasons to value?’

Section 3: Notions of transnational rights

→ Subsidiary question 3: ‘How do interviewees perceive their rights to have a decent life, regardless of the place?’

Section 4: Identities, belongings and social interactions

→ Subsidiary question 4: ‘How do interviewees perceive and operate their personal identities in the social interactions they have in the new city?’

5.0 - Introduction Section - Sample characteristics and related findings

This section sums up the main personal characteristics of interviewees in order to provide a general portrait of the sample that will be examined throughout the chapter and to indicate how it communicates with the broader scenario of migration in Brazil and with some findings of similar migration studies. The characteristics analysed in this section will be gender, age, nationality, documentation status, educational level and employment status, since in a migratory context these are key factors that can affect a person’s opportunities to achieve the things she has reasons to value - both according to capability studies (Frediani, 2015; Hodgett & Clark, 2005; Sen, 1997;) and migration studies (Castles, 2014; Long, 2015; Petit, 2007), as mentioned in the first chapter.

Gender and age

Regarding gender, the sample has 71 men and 29 women, with nobody identifying with any other category. Such gender share is very similar to the proportion normally registered in charity housings for migrants in São Paulo (CRAI, 2017). In respect to marital status, 45% of the sample was single, 50% married and 5% divorced, with a similar share of marital status among men and women. However, from those married, more than a half was not able to bring the partner to Brazil, mainly owing to financial constraints. Similarly, although 30% of the sample had children, only 10% of the sample was able to bring them.

A relevant finding concerning gender is the high number of women working in domestic services, both in the country of origin and in Brazil. Considering salaries and job quality, the differences among genders were not strongly significant in the sample. This relates to other studies in migration literature such as Basok and Piper (2012) and Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky (2006), indicating that work related to care, cleaning and domestic tasks are mainly associated to women.

Since many women interviewed could not find a job with formal contracts and fixed salaries as intended, they offer such services in houses and little local business to start earning some money. As M.B*⁹ indicates:

"Cleaning is a way to keep on having a bit of money to survive, until I do not find anything more fixed or qualified... It is not what I aim to do until my last day here, but it was a fairly fast way to start earning a bit in this beginning". - M.B.

Additionally, another finding regarding gender is that the percentage of interviewees earning more in Brazil than in the country of origin was higher among women. This could be associated with the fact that many of these women working in domestic tasks were not employed at all in their place of origin, dedicating their time exclusively to take care of their own household (non-paid tasks and culturally not recognised as a formal work).

In what concerns age, more than 80% of the sample is between 20 and 40 years old, reflecting the average age range of migrants recently arriving in Brazil (Policia Federal, 2016) and of those assisted in the charity housings in São Paulo (CRAI, 2017). No significant differences appear when comparing variables according to different age ranges. Since the ages of 20, 30 and 40 are all considered active in the labour market (UNDP, 2015), strong differences were not expected to occur anyway - reflecting similar studies mentioned in the first chapter, such as Hodgett and Clark, (2011) and Marinucci and Milesi (2012), neither of which indicate age as one of the characteristics most affecting migrants' situations.

In most destinations of the global North, which have an aged population, young migrants can play an important role of replacing the workforce in sectors where young nationals would not be enough, such as suggested by Balch (2010). But differently from these countries, most Brazilians are of a working age (IBGE, 2017) - a context where the youth of migrants might not be such an advantage compared to national candidates. Some reference to this appears in a few comments from interviewees, as in B.G*'s:

"Here there are many young Brazilians who are also ready to work, so we (migrants) need to learn the language and habits quickly to be as competitive as them" - B.G.

Nationality

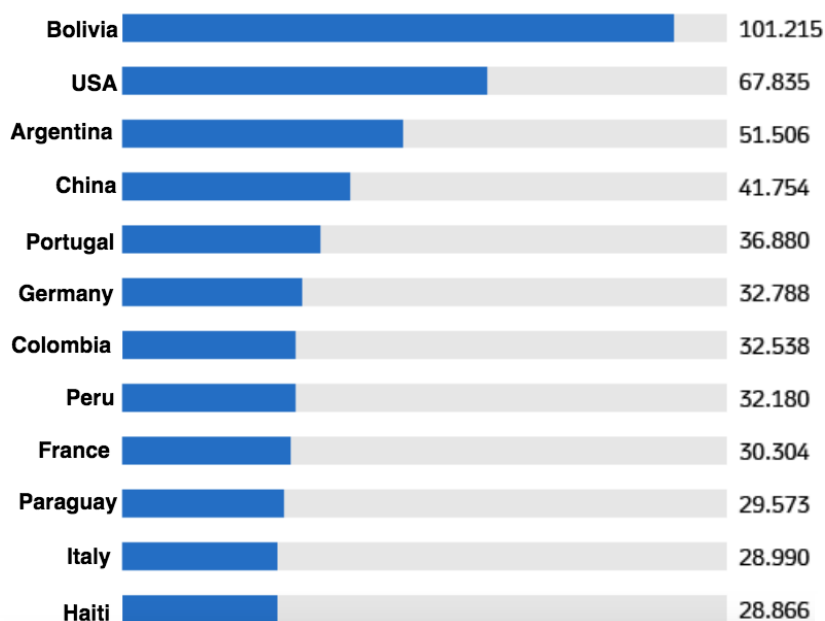
The sample includes the most frequent nationalities in the two main charity housings of São Paulo. This includes 14 nationalities from Latin America and Africa: Angola (20% of the sample),

⁹ Interviewees are referred to only by initials preserve their anonymity.

Haiti (18%), Guinea (10%), Democratic Republic of Congo 8%), Nigeria (7%) and Venezuela (5%), as well as Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Togo, Sierra Leone, Benin, Morocco and Ivory Coast (each one making up 4% of the sample). In general, all of these countries were positioned in the Human Development Index below Brazil, which is on the 79th position of the 189 countries observed, with a HDI of 0.759, which is considered the high human development category. Countries with significant migratory fluxes to contemporary Brazil and strongly present in the fieldwork sample are mainly in the Low Human Development or Medium Human Development categories - such as Angola, with 0.581 and positioned at 147 out of the 189 countries, or Haiti, with 0.498 HDI and positioned at 168.

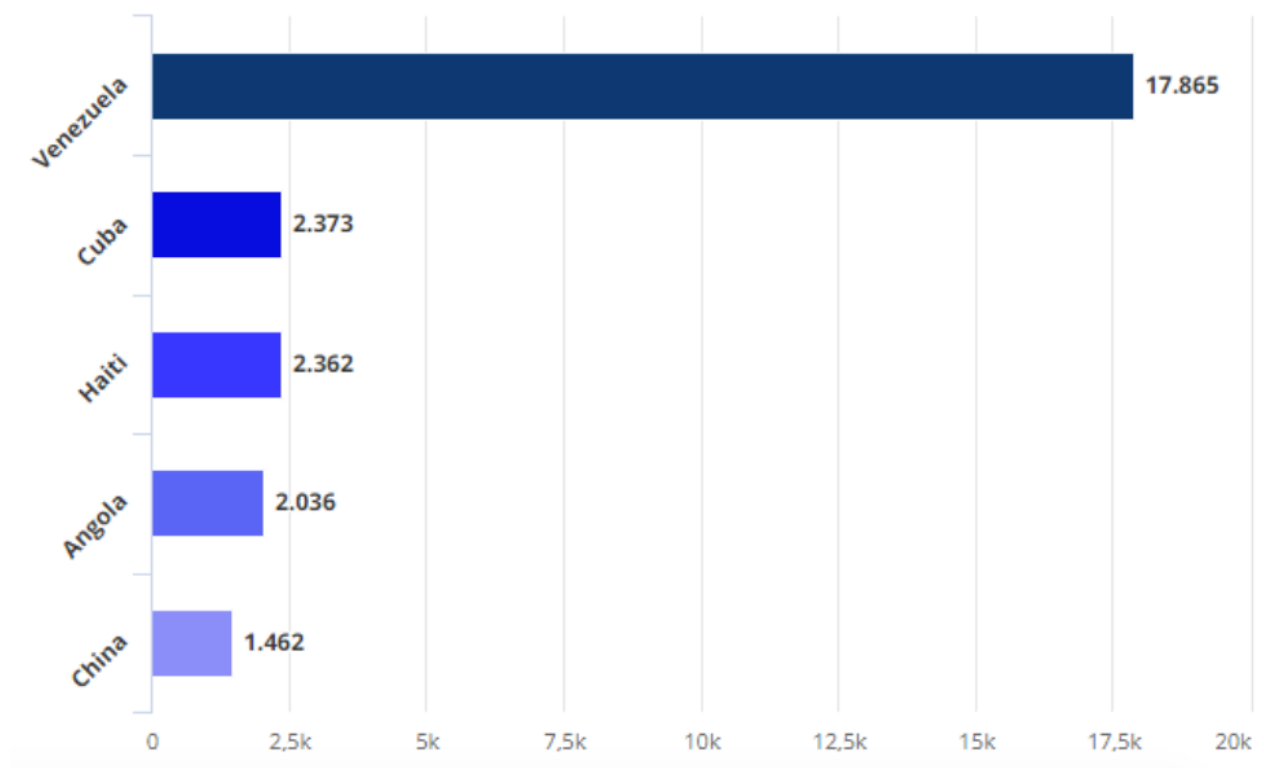
In the broader Brazilian scenario in recent years, some of the sample's nationalities also figure among the main migratory flows, as shown in the figure below. Considering the main nationalities requesting asylum in Brazil, it is possible to see some other nationalities also present in the thesis' sample, as shown below. Still, since this thesis adopts a human-centred approach, the sample can be considered relevant mainly owing to its focus on individual views and the possible reflections deriving for that, and not owing to its size or representativity in the broader scenario.

Figure H - Main nationalities registered in Brazil during 2000-2015 (from a total of 880,000 people)



(Source: NEPO/Unicamp, 2016)

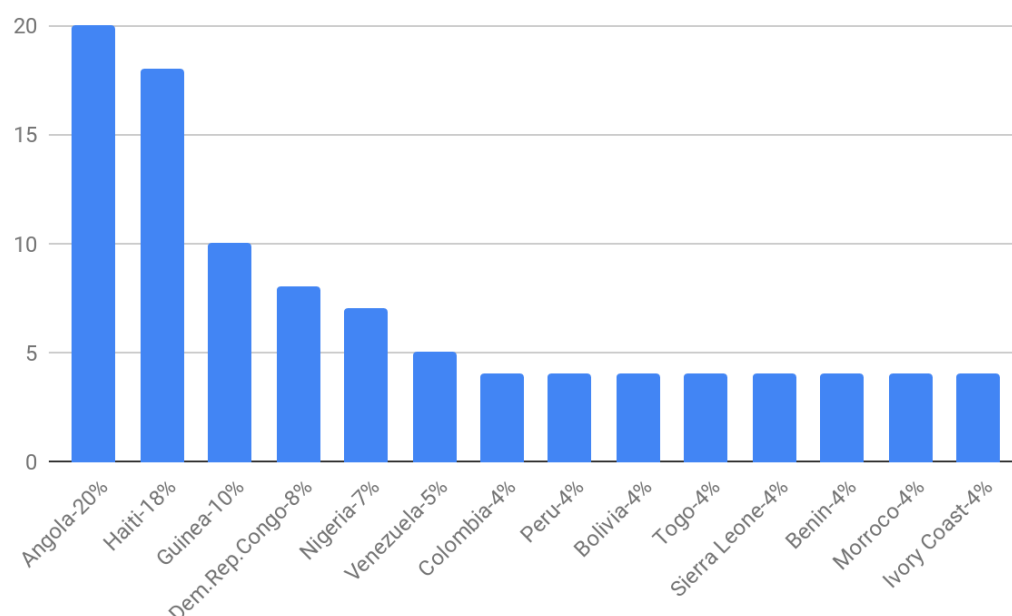
Figure I - Main nationalities requesting asylum in Brazil in 2017:



(Source: NEPO/Unicamp, 2016)

At the time the fieldwork was done (in mid-2017), the majority of the residents in both Missão Paz and CRAI were from Angola and Haiti, forming together 38% of the sample. Each of the remaining nationalities represent 10% or less of the sample. As explained in the methodological chapter, the nationalities were chosen according to the list of the most common ones living in the two houses concerned. A certain nationality was only included in the sample when at least 4 individuals of that nationality could be interviewed, in order to have a minimum set for comparison. The following figure illustrates the distribution of the nationalities in the final sample, followed by a brief contextualisation of these migration flows in contemporary Brazil.

Figure J – Interviewees' nationalities (in percentage):



Concerning migration from Angola, the main studies (Baganha, 2009; Baptista, 2007; Haydu, 2009) relate this flow to cultural and linguistic similarities derived from the common Portuguese colonisation that both Brazil and Angola experienced. Significant flows of Angolans towards Brazil took place owing to the civil war in Angola that endured from 1975 to 2002 (Haydu, 2009). The flows remained considerable even after the political stabilisation of the country, since the economic crisis was still severe. Moreover, Brazilian cultural productions are also popular in contemporary Angola, such as music and TV programmes, constantly promoting key Brazilian features to this audience (Baptista, 2007) - an influence some of the interviewees also mentioned.

The high recurrence of Haitians relates in great part to a special visa category granted to these citizens by Brazilian diplomatic authorities (Barboza & Back, 2016). This humanitarian visa was implemented in 2012 by Law 6,815/1980, considering the worsening of the living conditions in Haiti with the spread of a civil armed conflict since early 2000s followed by a disastrous earthquake in 2010 which killed more than 220,000 people (Barboza & Back, 2016; Brazil, 2016). The Brazilian Army was already leading the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) since the beginning of its operations in 2004, after the civil conflict led to the exile of the president (Kenkel, 2017). Considering this difficult scenario, emigration rocketed and the Brazilian embassy in Haiti provided this visa with a faster procedure and facilitated conditions for Haitians willing to live in Brazil. The visa is monitored by Brazil's National Immigration Council (an agency of the Ministry of Labor) and is granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since this period, Haitians have become the main international nationality in the formal labor market in Brazil (Policia Federal, 2017). Civil

construction companies and agribusiness, especially poultry and pork slaughterhouses, have been the main employers of Haitian migrants in Brazil (Cavalcanti, Oliveira & Tonhati, 2015; Handerson, 2015). The group makes up almost 65,000 migrants formally registered, according to the latest data from Brazilian Federal Police (Polícia Federal, 2017).

Concerning the Latin American migrants of the sample, significant motivations for migrating to Brazil relate to the geographic proximity and relative cultural similarities, as well as the Brazilian economy's leading image in the region (Baeninger, 2012; IOM, 2017). Another key source of attraction relates to the agreements of Mercosur, a sub-regional bloc promoting free movement of citizens, products and currency (CEPAL, 2008). The bloc unites as full members Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay - with Venezuela being suspended in December 2016 for violating its democracy rules (Mercosur, 2017). Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Suriname are associate countries. Since Mercosur was founded in 1991, its missions have been transformed several times, and now it operates as a full trading bloc and customs union (Cepal, 2008). Transit in border regions of these countries has been very intense for several decades, including the emigration of Brazilians towards neighbouring cities in all of them (Oliveira, 2006). However, the present analysis focuses on more long-term and distant migration from these nations towards the largest metropolis in Brazil.

Among migratory trends from Latin Americans towards Brazil, it is important to highlight the flux from Bolivia, which has formed one of the largest groups coming to Brazil since the late 90s (Baeninger, 2012). Although Bolivians make up a large contingent in and particularly São Paulo, their presence in the charity housing is not proportional, and is relatively very low comparing to the total group in this metropolis. This relates in part to their settlement patterns in the city, in specific areas close to their workplace in textile offices, as well as to their more solidified networks that would depend less on the emergency support of these housings (Silva, 2012). According to the latest data from Brazilian Federal Police, there are almost 90,000 Bolivian citizens registered in Brazil (Polícia Federal, LAI, 2016). As these migration networks have been solidifying, a large part of the new migrants are now hired through compatriots who managed to buy and run their own business in the textile sector (Baeninger, 2012). Serious infractions of human rights and work protection have been found in this sector, with dozens of office operating under indecent work conditions and exploitative terms (Silva, 2007). This abuse has been more controlled by responsible authorities in recent years, but is still worrying as many companies rebuilt this link to decrease the final prices of their clothing (idem).

Peruvians have also increasingly participated in these textile activities (Silva, 2012) - also figuring among the largest groups migrating to Brazil in the last decade (Polícia Federal, LAI,

2016). Although this flux is smaller and more recent than that of Bolivians, its numbers are still significant and sum up almost 30,000 according to the last registration of the Federal Police (Polícia Federal, 2016). A significant part of Colombian fluxes can be indirectly linked to the instability and uncertainty caused by the drugs guerrillas in Colombia (Moreira, 2005). After more than five decades of a complex conflict concerning State forces, civil insurrections for land reforms, para-militaries and drugs cartels, the fights have been diminishing through peace negotiations in the last few years (OACP, 2015). Even so, a significant migratory flux continues towards Brazil, also related to economic prospects (Oliveira, 2006). A similar blend of economic and political motivations can also be seen in the recent flows from Venezuela, since the country faces political instability with constant repression from the current government against opposition, as well as economic shortages and severe difficulties in supply delivery (Gomes, Winter & Rossi, 2015).

Concerning the other countries with significant presence, DRC and Nigeria, the above explanations are not so suitable to understand the motivations of the flows - since neither of these countries has Portuguese heritage or geographic and cultural proximity like the other nations addressed. DRC citizens formally registered in Brazil have surpassed a thousand in the last few years, with a significant part already recognised as formal refugees (Polícia Federal, 2016). The DRC has faced humanitarian crisis throughout the entire last century, from independence fights against Belgian colonisation in the 60s, difficulties with the neighbouring Rwandan war in the 90s, and more recent instability among local groups related to ownership over land and natural resources (Zeender, 2007). The groups in power have suppressed opponents and fomented conflict among local ethnic groups, leading to more than 5 million deaths in the last decade (OCHA, 2017). With such pessimistic perspectives, DRC citizens keep on migrating mainly to neighbouring countries in Eastern Africa, forming one of the largest South-South flows (Mokili Danga, 2001). In relative terms, the Congolese population arriving in Brazil is still small, but this is expected since migrating to such a distant country would be affordable for very few people under such difficult circumstances. Those few who manage to reach Brazil have started their lives in the new society in serious vulnerability (CRAI, 2017). Special humanitarian visas (such as those currently granted by the Brazilian government to Syrians and Haitians) could also be adopted for the DRC's case, as the final chapter will suggest when addressing policy prospects in the field.

In what concerns Nigerian migrants, their increasing presence has been linked both to an emergent network for migrants pursuing better economic conditions and to the growing provision of asylum mentioned above (ACNUR, 2017). The Brazilian Committee for Refugees, CONARE has granted asylum mainly for Nigerian citizens from ethnic minorities who are historically persecuted and from northern regions with strong presence of terrorist group Boko Haram (idem). For the

migration not directly related to persecutions or rights violations, a possible motivation can be the growing portrait of Brazil as an emergent economy in media around Africa during the last decade (Amorim, 2010; Machado, 2012).

The remaining nationalities of those interviewed - Togo, Sierra Leone, Benin, Morocco, Guinea and Ivory Coast – do not figure among the most frequent in recent migratory fluxes towards Brazil (Polícia Federal, 2016). Researches in the field have not focused any of these nationalities directly, since the cases occur sporadically and with no particular network formed, neither relating to formal migratory agreements with Brazil nor any particular attraction that could be noticed in most cases (CRAI, 2017). Still, these nationalities came just after the most frequent ones in CRAI and Missão Paz, and so they could be included in the sample – since the intention was to make it as diverse as possible and as there would be enough interviewees of these nationalities to make a minimum comparison (two interviewees in each house).

A potential attracting factor for migrants from these countries could be the growing image of Brazil as an emergent economy in African media (Amorim, 2010; Machado, 2012). From the comments collected in this sample, it is also possible to relate a part of this to word of mouth informing about Brazil's migratory facilities, but still on a tiny scale not forming any solid network and not being noticeable in Brazilian cities. CONARE has shown a high level of acceptance for the asylum requests of citizens from Guinea, Togo, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, owing to the political instability, severe violations of human rights and frequent ethnic persecutions in these countries (Gediel & Godoy, 2016). This relative high acceptance of asylum can motivate new incomers from these countries to pursue better conditions in Brazil as formal refugees.

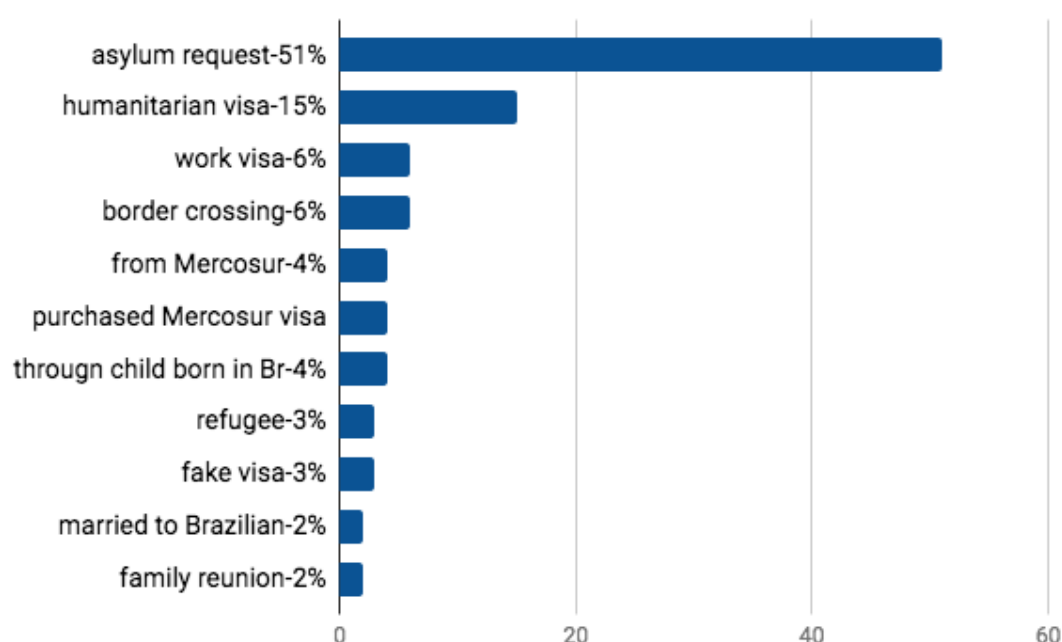
Time spent in Brazil and documentation status

Since the charity houses concerned aim to host migrants in vulnerability especially in their arrival stage, they normally offer free accommodation only for the first semester¹⁰ (CRAI, 2017; Missão Paz, 2017). In the final group considered, 46% of the interviewees were in Brazil for the previous 9 to 12 months, 13% for 6 to 9 months and 41% for 4 to 6 months. Those staying longer than the standard 6-month deadline were granted this extra time mostly for reasons of unemployment.

¹⁰ They can make some few extensions for up to 1 year if the social and economic vulnerabilities persist. This includes cases of illness and pregnancy, as well as when the resident is accompanied by children and if he/she has still not found any job or informal source of income.

In terms of documentation, most interviewees found ways to remain in Brazil in a legalised situation. A non-documented status corresponds to 8% of the sample - composed of 5% arriving through border crossings without internationally valid documentation and 3% entering Brazil with a fake visa (all of them remaining undocumented at the time of the interviews). The remaining 92% of the sample had legal documentation status but through very different means, indicated in the figure below. Chapter 6 will deepen the analysis on how this documentation status impacts on the notions that migrants have about their rights in the host society.

Figure K – Documentation Status:



Educational level, employment status and economic status

In terms of formal education, 77% had at least completed high school in the country of origin, with 23% of the total holding an undergraduate degree. This portrait reflects the general profile of current migrants from developing countries living in Brazil, as indicated by Villen (2012), Aydos (2010), Patarra (2005) and Baeninger and Leony (2001). Findings related to education will be further analysed in the second section of this chapter addressing the things interviewees have reasons to value in what they consider a good life, since 'being educated' was frequently mentioned among the most valued things.

Regarding employment, almost 80% of the sample was unemployed at the time of the interview (33% of the sample had already worked in Brazil but were unemployed at the moment of the interview). Most interviewees attributed this to potential factors like: too little knowledge of

Portuguese; poor previous knowledge about São Paulo's city labour market (65%); lack of previous professional experience generally required (55%); a crowded job market in which it is difficult to compete (50%); mistrust of employers about the validity of these migrants' provisional documents (40%); lack of educational qualifications for higher positions (35%); unfamiliarity with Brazilian work culture (30%); difficulty to validate previous studies (25%). Part of the initiatives to be indicated in the final chapter aim to tackle these obstacles, in order to improve employability of migrants in the next years. Some of these topics demand significant structural reform on certain market aspects or large-scale projects for educational preparation, but some others would require simpler efforts such as improvement of the layout of provisional documentation for migrants to inspire more credibility among employers, or fewer bureaucratic procedures for validating foreign education degrees and certificates.¹¹

Salaries received in Brazil were higher than in the country of origin for the vast majority of the participants, even those in similar or lower positions than in the place of origin. The figures in the sequence indicate the difference in terms of job position and salaries in the place of origin and in Brazil.

¹¹ For those who had already been employed or who were employed at the moment of the interview, another aspect examined was the means they had used to find that job. Their main source to find the job was the employment services of NGOs dealing with migration, especially the services from CRAI and Missão Paz, making up 26% of the job placements -. This indicates the popularity and efficacy of public services for employment among this migrant public – especially after specific efforts were made by São Paulo's administration to boost job placement for this particular group (CRAI, 2017). Another key means was the contact with Brazilians who directed them to provisional jobs, followed by indications from compatriots. There was also a relevant presence of autonomous work (freelancer paid by day of service as well as artisans and street vendors) and a minor but still relevant (10%) use of government services of job placement for the general public (not specific for migrants).

Figure L – General employment status in Brazil comparing with previous job in the country of origin:

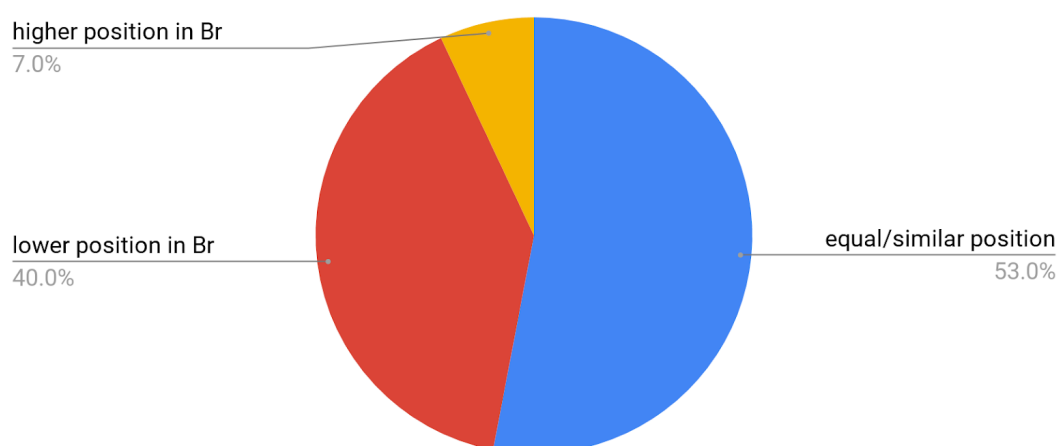


Figure M - Average monthly income (in current or previous job in Brazil)

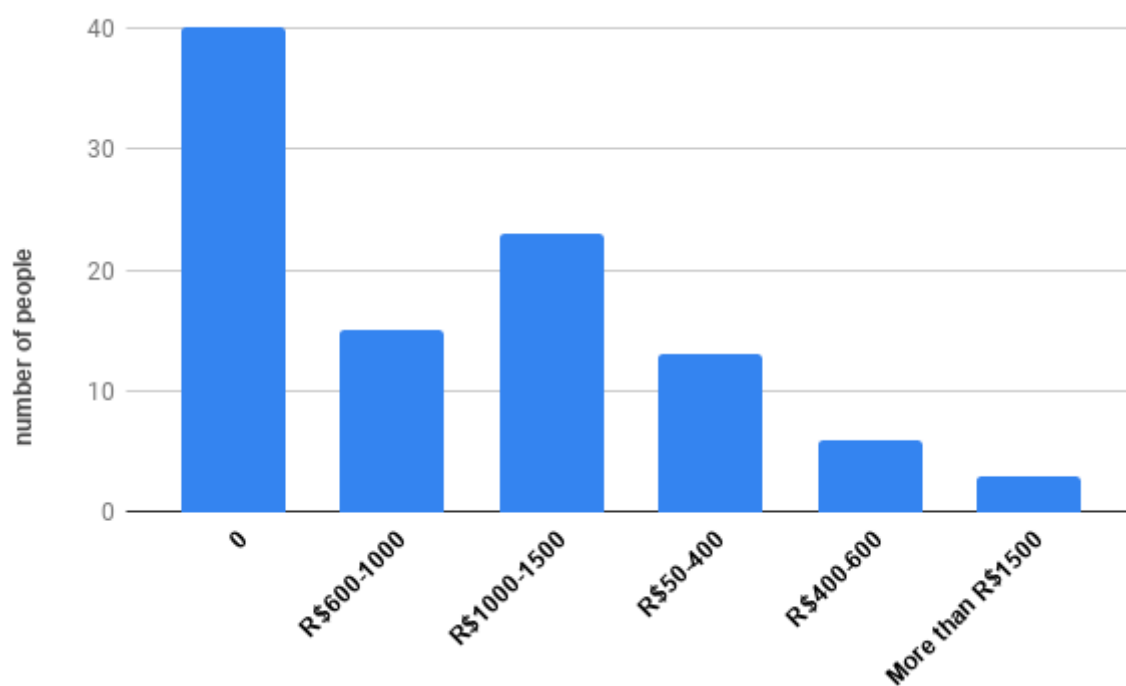
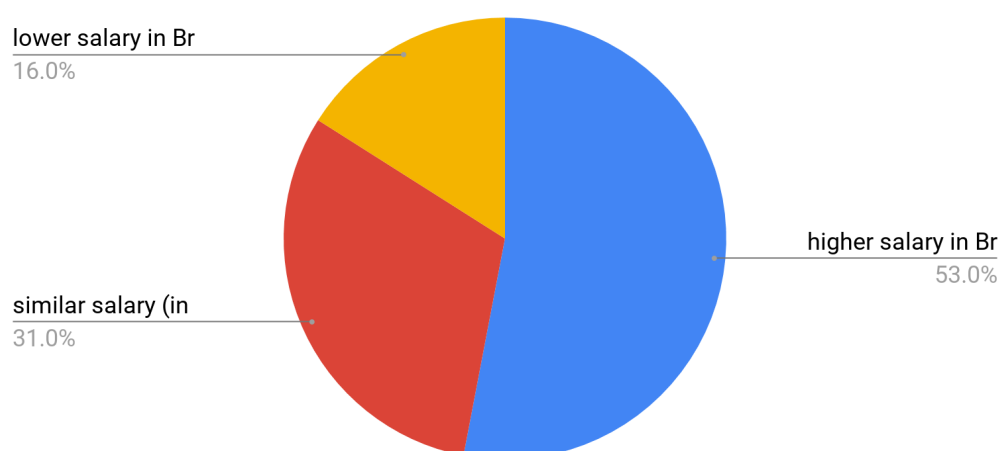


Figure N – Salary earned in Brazil comparing to salary earned the country of origin:



Still, these answers were not considering living costs and purchasing power in Brazil and in the place of origin, they were only considering total salaries in each place - a scenario strongly impacted by the higher value of Brazilian currency compared to the currency of the countries observed. A common comment among interviewees was that although they were initially impressed with salaries in Brazil, this impression started to change once they became more familiar with the high living costs in São Paulo. Key studies addressing other destinations in the global South indicate that lower prices in these destinations (comparing with the global North) were a crucial advantage underlined by migrants (Biavaschi, Facchini, Mayda & Mendola, 2018; Ratha & Shaw, 2007). This seems not applicable to the case of São Paulo city, with its living costs figuring among the 50 highest in the world (UBS, 2018). The difficulty might even increase once interviewees leave the charity house, since their expenses for rent and meals were covered there. As G.M* indicates:

"We might be attracted by the salaries in a stronger currency, but then we must also consider that we will start to spend in this same currency for our daily costs. And I was expecting Sao Paulo to be cheaper". - G.M

However, even if these high living costs hinder the capacity to accumulate significant savings, these amounts might already bring relevant impacts when used in the country of origin, such as argued by Petit (2007) and Long (2015). For this aspect, the currency difference plays a positive role, since the small savings in Brazilian reais end up as a much larger support for many of the developing countries considered. Many interviewees mentioned their plans to keep on sending support for family members back home, although most of them had not already managed to send it in a constant and regular flow owing to the difficulty in finding jobs in Brazil. As discussed in the first chapter with theories focusing on impacts of migration in communities of origin, such as Kapur (2008) and Ratha & Shaw (2007), the challenge of remittances on boosting local development in

the countries of origin also relates with this uncertainty and instability of migrants in the new context, which hinder the capacity to plan long-term investments in more structural changes. Concerning this topic, P.L.* comments:

"I think it is better to be a cleaner here and earn in Brazilian reais, than do the same and earn in the currency there. Although I don't find it a great job, I am already better off by being paid in reais." - P.L.

Among those working at the time of the interview and those who had already worked in Brazil, only half had a formal contract with all the due guarantees, benefits and protections accorded under Brazilian labour law. However, most of them affirm that this difficulty to find a formal job was even stronger in their places of origin. More importantly, many emphasised that being unemployed there was harder because the State does not provide public services for free as in Brazil, or social programmes to directly assist the poorest households. This reflects Ratha and Shaw's (2007) indication that, although all countries in the global South might face structural difficulties, their levels of State support strongly vary and can make a considerable difference in residents' quality of life.

Moreover, it was also relevant to address the dimension of incomes more directly. Although the CA underlines that assessing development presumes looking beyond the dimensions of incomes, it does acknowledge the importance of incomes as part of the means that enable a person to pursue what she has reasons to value (Sen, 2011). As Comim (2008) underlines, when the Capability Approach highlights the importance of looking at development beyond the income dimension, it does not ignore the importance of having economic needs fulfilled in order to act in accordance to one's values. In the international scenario, important gains in income have been registered among migrants from poor backgrounds (IOM, 2017). The UNDP has indicated that migrants who moved from a low-income to a high-income country experienced on average a 15-fold increase in income, a doubling of education enrolment rates and a 16-fold reduction in child mortality numbers (UNDP, 2009, p. E 1-2). Thus, it was also relevant to assess how this process was going for the interviewees concerned.

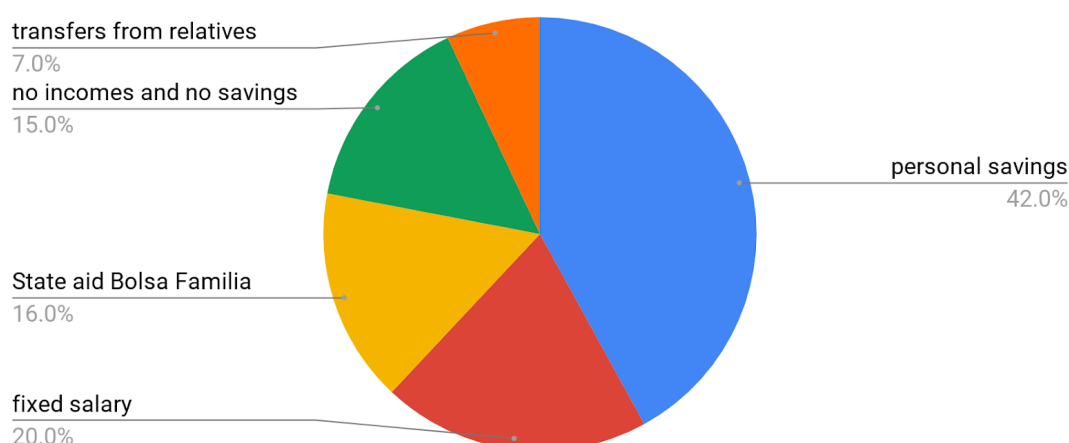
In this direction, it is important to keep in mind the special difficulty of these interviewees to find a job in these initial months: since it was still a very early stage, most had not yet found a job to guarantee a fixed income. Among the main difficulties found in this field, one can highlight the lack of vacancies in the market in general, which the interviewees relate to the recent decrease in Brazil's employment rates in the last year (EM, 2017; Folha de S.Paulo, 2017a; Valor, Econômico, 2017). Insufficient knowledge of Portuguese, lack of professional experience, unfamiliarity with the

culture, and preference for national workers are also mentioned as difficulties of finding a job. As M.J.* describes:

“If the current situation is already difficult for Brazilian workers, you can imagine how harsh it is for us, being even less familiar with how things work here, not mastering the language, not having contacts and friends to indicate us some vacancies of to facilitate our search more directly”. - M.J.

Regarding monthly income, the questionnaire has considered the amount earned by the interviewees currently employed (21%), as well as the amount that used to be earned by those who were not employed at the time of the interview but previously had a job in Brazil (33%). Financial assistance from State programs (16%) or from family members (7%) were also considered, as well as any income from informal occupations with no contract, such as temporary jobs (20%) and self-sufficient selling activities at the street (10%).

Figure O - Sources of income:



Considering the fixed incomes from all these sources, the most common answer was zero personal income (39%), a very concerning challenge for CRAI and Missão, which were trying to give some priority to this group in job placements. A second portion of incomes was around R\$50-400 (£11-88) per month earned by 19% of the sample - a monthly amount still far from sufficient to cover even the most basic living costs in São Paulo. There was a subsequent portion of R\$400-800 (£88-177) earned by 15% and 800-1,500 (£177-333) per month earned by 24%, followed by higher portions earned by insignificant shares of the sample.¹²

The hardship to sustain a life with such low incomes is reinforced when considering that some of these migrants are expected to send remittances, as pointed out in the first chapter. Half of

¹² The values in GBP were calculated with the 4,5 rate registered as the annual average for 2017 comparing to Brazilian Reais (Financial Times, 2017).

the interviewees have nobody directly depending on their financial resources, dialoguing with the general profile of the current migrant in Brazilian larger scenario (mainly single and young individuals with no direct dependents). However, the presence of dependents is still concerning in a group with so low incomes: 23% of the interviewees have 1 or 2 people depending on them, 18% have 3 to 4 dependents and 6% have more than 5. The individuals with dependents have frequently mentioned how the pressure of this responsibility hinders their levels of satisfaction in the new host society, since they feel this 'double weight' on their expectations to succeed. Studies on this sphere such as Petit (2007) and Sandron and Guilmoto (2001) remind that, as the economic difficulty faced by migrants might affect not only them but a whole household, they tend to feel more stressed in the new context. Comments in this direction were common, such as this one from K.P.*:

"Every single morning when I wake up, I remember that I need to succeed here not only because of my personal pleasure, but because of so many things I have sacrificed to back home to come here, for all my loved ones that relied on my promise of giving them a decent life." - K.P.

Interviewees' characteristics comparing to average profile of their place of origin

Although the priority of this human-centred analysis was interviewees' views, and not the external validity of the sample, it seemed interesting to contextualise the position of participants in their places of origin, in order to dialogue with some of the literature discussions referred in the initial chapter (especially those underlining how migration is still an opportunity available only to a minor part of population in poor areas). In this domain, it was possible to notice that, in general, these interviewees had higher educational levels than the average of their countries of origin (UNESCO, 2015), reinforcing the studies briefly mentioned in the first chapter which indicate that the very possibility to migrate would not be very reachable for the groups facing the most vulnerability, who are likely to have the lowest educational levels (Petit, 2007; DeHaas, 2010). In terms of age, most of them were not more than ten years older than the average of their nations, that had predominantly a population in early working age (CIA, 2017). In respect to financial terms, it was difficult to make such a comparison of these interviewees and the average income in each place of origin, firstly because several nationalities of this sample would not have enough data about minimum incomes nor average national salary for the period observed. Secondly, many interviewees reported fluctuant incomes beyond fixed salaries, such as extra jobs in informality, family support etc, and so it was not suitable to force any general criteria or common ground to compare.

5.1 - Participants' ideas of a good life and related capabilities

Since the study aimed to use the participants' own words and values as much as possible, following the Capability Approach, a core part of the questionnaire asked what things interviewees had reasons to value in what they consider a good life - using an open question in order to capture their own terms spontaneously. They were asked to mention their own elements based on their personal judgement, ranking them according to the importance they associate to these things¹³.

This section addresses the things interviewees indicated as most important in what they consider a good life (referring to the subsidiary 2a: 'Which things they have reasons to value in what they consider 'a good life'?'). In the sequence, it indicates the main resources, services and functionings related to these valued things - that might be contributing or hindering the pursuit of this valued thing. The dimension of resources and services is relevant because it is part of the set of means that enable a person to pursue what she has reasons to value (Basu & López-Calva, 2011). The dimension of functionings include activities and states of mind that are relevant to assess the changes in individuals' lives (Kuklys, 2004). Functionings refer to what a person can be or do - to how she can 'function', as explained in the initial chapter (Sen, 1984). Functionings can be activities such as eating/reading/seeing or states of existence such as being well-nourished, being free of a certain disease, not being ashamed etc. This part also indicates interviewees' perceptions about their current situation regarding these valued things. By analysing the main changes in interviewees' resources, functionings, personal values and expectations about a good life - and after considering the dimension of agency addressed in the previous chapter - this chapter aims to address their capabilities to achieve what they have reasons to value. When doing so, it refers to the thesis's subsidiary question 2b: 'How has migration affected the capabilities related to the things they have reasons to value?'.

Main things interviewees have reasons to value in a good life

Sen's CA addresses the process of development experienced by an individual not simply according to fixed external standards, but according to the things that this person has reasons to value. The CA term 'reasons to value' does not evoke an idea of a rational reason or calculated action (Sen, 1999). By addressing the things that people have reasons to value, the CA aimed to

¹³ Initially, they could indicate as many things as they wanted, although most of them mentioned around five elements. In order to enable comparisons in a manageable amount of variables, similar concepts mentioned were grouped in a single category (for instance 'independence' and 'autonomy', or 'having faith' and 'believing in God', etc.).

emphasise the importance of considering the terms, values and rankings used by individuals themselves, according to each context and using their own views. Moreover, the CA reminds that the things that individuals have reasons to value will not necessarily be the main drive for their decisions, and therefore do not coincide with the idea of reason evoked by rational choice theories. The CA argues that individual choices will not always be guided by rational calculus nor by aims to maximise benefits, as explained in previous chapters. The intention is to analyse the things individuals have reasons to value as a way to give more voice to the individuals involved, and addressing their processes of development according to their own terms, priorities and views, and not by external standards.

In this direction, it was relevant for this research to analyse the things that interviewees considered valuable according to their own ideas of a good life. Overall, it was possible to identify 27 main things that they had reasons to value. By far, the most cited thing was 'to work', mentioned by 73% of participants. Considering the further comments on this, 'work' is so strongly praised mainly because it is seen as the core means for a minimum stability in other dimensions of life (such as nutrition, shelter, family relations etc.), as subsequent parts of this section will further explain. Such a strong emphasis on work might also relate to the particularly heavy weight that finding a job imposed on these recently-arrived migrants, since they would point it as a decisive trigger to start building their whole new path in São Paulo. A strong recurrence of values related to work was also found in other studies with recently-arrived migrants such as Hodgett and Clark (2011), and seemed to link with the special relevance of working in this initial phase, not only for gaining minimal resources to start a new live, but also for creating independence and an initial sense of integration in that society.

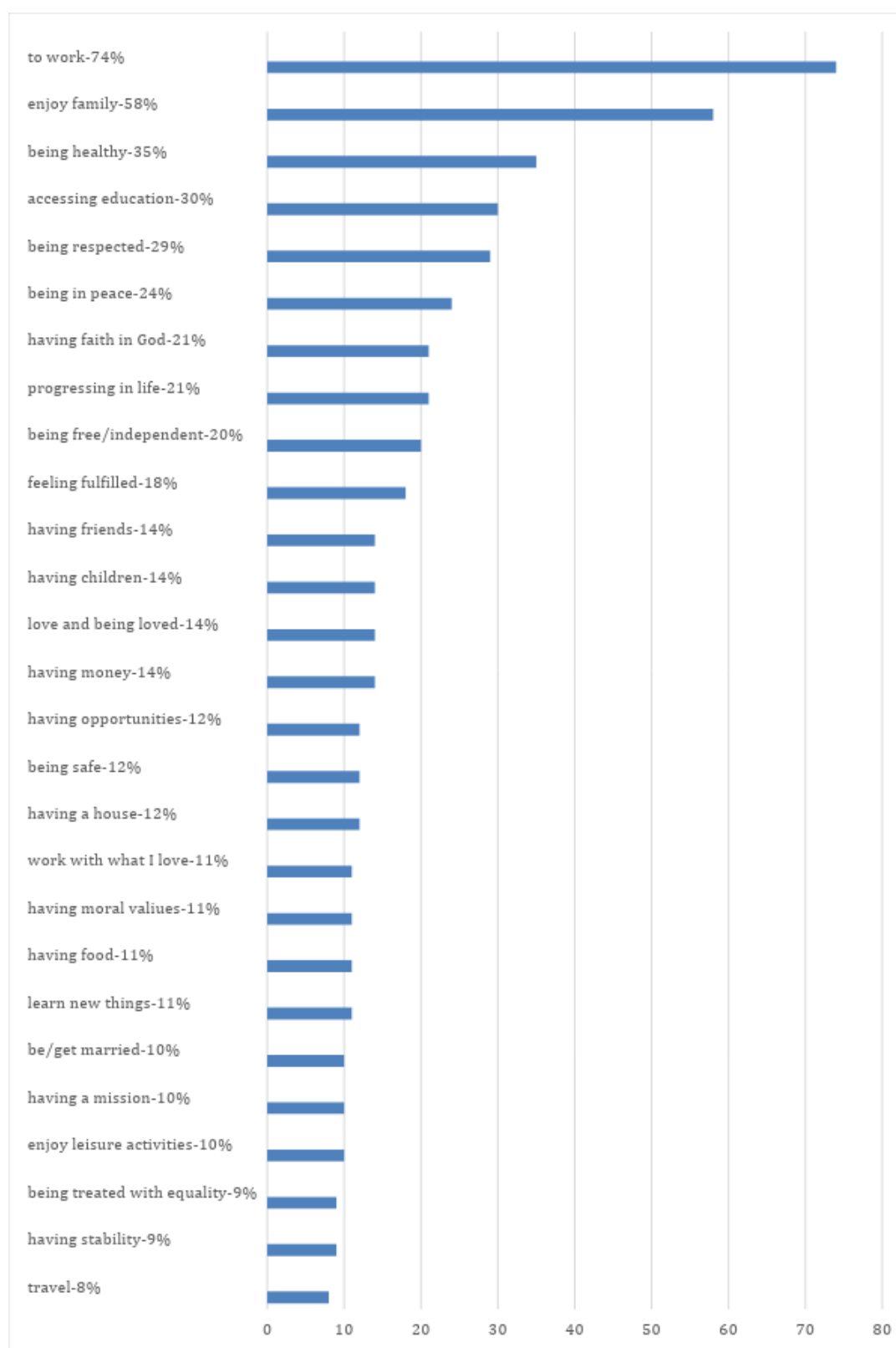
The second most mentioned thing, with a considerable distance from 'work', was 'enjoy my family' (48%). Once again, it was expected that these participants would give a particularly strong value to this element, considering their specific circumstance of being recently separated from most of their family and still building new relations in the new society. Similar tendencies in Petit (2007) underline the particular valuing to family ties left in the origin during the initial phase of the settlement, since new relations are still not solid in the host place. The reference to relatives left in the place of origin was especially strong among interviewees who were unemployed and among those who did not master the language, probably because these conditions were hindering the fostering of new relations.

In the sequence, the most mentioned elements were 'being healthy' (35%), 'being educated' (30%) and 'being respected' (29%), which will also be further examined in later parts of this section. Overall, a notable finding among the most valued things was the predominance of

intangible elements, relating more to contexts and feelings than to material goods. From the 27 most mentioned things, only three (money, housing and food) are out of this general tendency of abstract elements. 'Having food' and 'having housing' were the only tangible things mentioned and are ranked lowly in relative terms, each one mentioned by less than 15% of participants. 'Having money' is mentioned by only 14% and is not prioritised in the top 5 list of the participants' own ranking (to be shown below). One can argue that earning money can be implied in the element 'to work', which was the most mentioned and indicated in the top rank. Although this an important association to consider, one must also reinforce that participants have frequently underlined elements of the working ethics as well , such as 'learn new things', 'progress in life', 'having opportunities', and especially 'work with what I love, 'personal fulfillment' and 'having a mission'. Such a tendency reinforces the suitability of the Capability Approach for this analysis, considering the CA effort to understand the dimensions beyond resources while assessing development. For these individuals, personal development includes this wide range of elements whose fulfillment depends on more than higher incomes.

Another relevant finding is the strong presence of the element 'enjoy family' in this specific circumstance where almost all the migrants interviewed were alone, and very far from any member of their family. For some of the interviewees who consider staying in Brazil temporarily only to raise some extra money, the aspect 'enjoy family' is not even expected to be fulfilled in the new host society – as if this aspect of their personal development, even though highly valued, would need to be temporarily sacrificed while they try to reach other elements. This brings interesting reflections for Sen's discussions on preferences and utility (Sen, 1993) addressed in the previous section, since some individual choices might not directly aim to optimise personal welfare. In many circumstances such as these, other commitments might be more decisive for personal choices than the maximisation of personal gains - and would still be in line with the person's values and priorities.

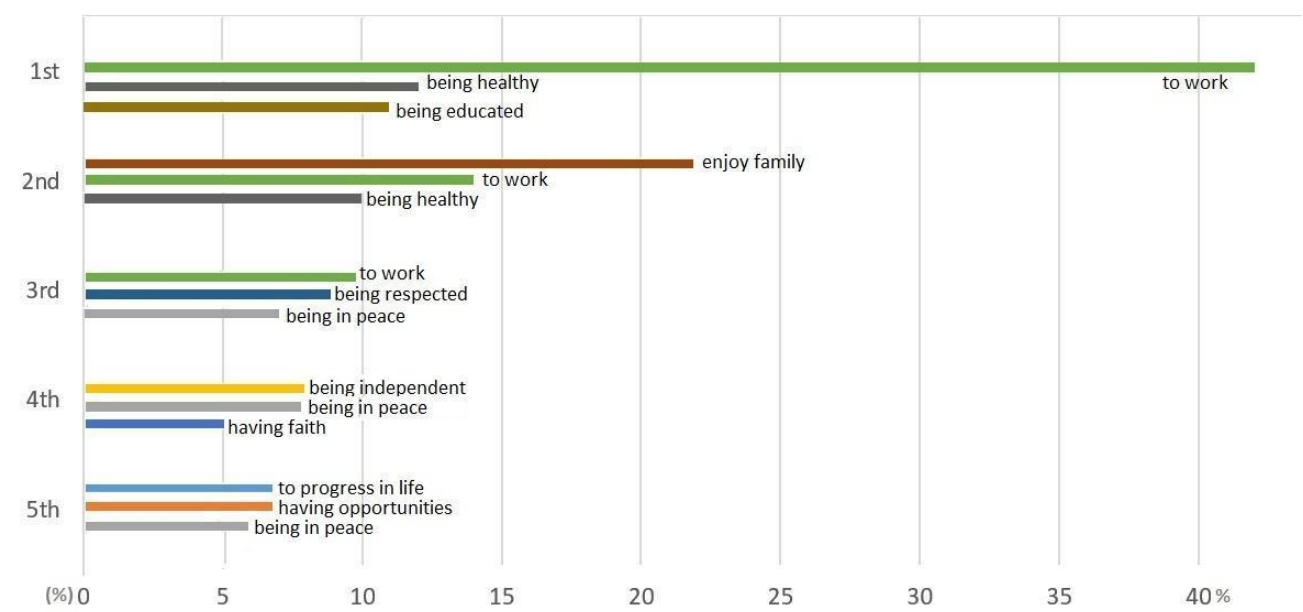
Figure P – Interviewees' most valued things in what they consider 'a good life':



Besides analysing the most mentioned things in what participants consider a good life, it is also important to examine how they ranked these things, since some elements might have been frequently mentioned but not necessarily have the highest ranks. The relevance of individuals' rankings is strongly underlined in the Capability Approach (Comim, 2001; Comim, Qizilbash & Alkire, 2008), since this framework examines not only what individuals value, but also how they value it. Thus, the questionnaire also enquired how these individuals organise the valued things according to their own criteria.

The ranking reveals interesting patterns in the distribution of the elements, which were ranked considerably differently, as seen in the following figure. 'To work' is the dominant element in all top 3 positions, while 'enjoy the family' is indicated almost entirely in the second place. 'Being in peace' was not among the most frequent elements, but participants indicating this have ranked it among the most important elements, which reinforces its relevance for the individuals analysed. Similarly, 'to progress in life', 'to be independent' and 'having opportunities', although not figuring on the top of the most mentioned elements in general terms, reveal a considerable importance when considering their high ranking. Thus, although not a vast majority have mentioned these things, those mentioning have ranked them highly enough to consider it relevant to the discussion when addressing these individuals' perceptions about the changes in their lives. 'Being educated' was only the fourth most mentioned element in general frequency terms, but it is ranked as the first most important thing for those indicating it, so it seemed relevant to further examine it too.

Figure Q – Ranking of most valued things in ‘a good life’:



Capabilities related to the things interviewees have reasons to value

After considering the main things participants have reasons to value, it is time to analyse how they have been experiencing these things in Brazil so far. This includes examining the circumstances related to the things they value, as well as their perceptions about these circumstances. Such an effort refers to the thesis's subsidiary question 2b: 'How has migration affected the material circumstances related to the things interviewees have reasons to value?'

The main findings in this direction are discussed in sequence, following the order of the ranking presented above. The analysis starts with the dimension of work, since it was the most mentioned and most highly ranked thing. Then the section proceeds to the dimension of health, the second most mentioned and well ranked. Subsequently, it examines the sphere of education and some related values mentioned, such as 'learning new things'. In the sequence, the analysis addresses the findings related to 'being respected' and 'being independent' together with similar values mentioned. The section finally finishes with an examination of the findings related to 'enjoy family' and 'having friends', which were also among the most cited things interviewees have reasons to value.

a) Main findings concerning the valued thing 'to work'

It was possible to identify some significant changes in interviewees' routines related to work. Since participants were in their first year in São Paulo and still facing difficulties around job placement, activities related to job searching are the most frequent in their new routine. About a quarter of the activities most mentioned in the routine in São Paulo relates to the employment dimension. The most mentioned means are informal search such as distributing CVs near the charities and in central locations (61%) or asking for jobs in the surroundings (50%). Still, a significant part of the group (40%) mention the use of formal services for employment, what indicates a fair level of awareness about the availability of these free facilities provided by the city council and associated NGOs. The use of the internet to search for vacancies is also very frequent, being part of the routine of 45% of participants. Numerous narratives emphasised the free internet provided by São Paulo's city council as a main advantage comparing with the places of origin, since it would help to save money that they would spend on data previously.

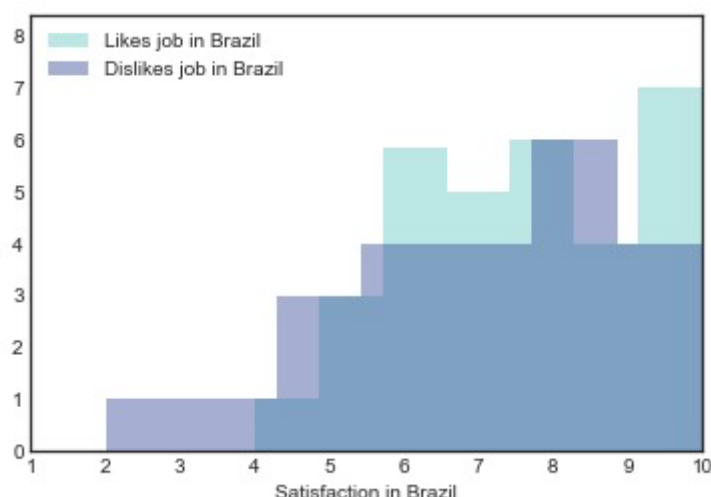
Participants have ranked 'to work' so highly among their most valued things that it seemed important to measure how their evaluation about their job is associated with the general mark they give to their lives in Brazil. When commenting further on the value of work, participants have mentioned not simply 'to be employed', but deeper realisations that relate to work – such as 'having a mission', 'work[ing] with what I love' and 'feeling fulfilled'. Thus, it was necessary to examine not simply if the person was employed, but the quality she associates with her work and how this might affect her general satisfaction with the new life in Brazil.

There seems to be some association between this general satisfaction with one's life in Brazil (represented in the following figure in a crescent scale in the x axis) and the satisfaction with the current job (with 'liking the job' represented in light blue, and 'disliking the job' represented in dark blue). This was especially the case in the extreme poles of those who most dislike and most like their jobs, as seen below. Those giving the lowest marks to their lives in Brazil (represented in the beginning of the general satisfaction scale of the x axis) also disliked their jobs in Brazil (represented in dark blue). Those giving the highest marks to their lives in Brazil (at the end of the general satisfaction scale of the x axis) mostly answered that they like their jobs in Brazil (represented in light blue)¹⁴. Among the marks for general satisfaction which were in the middle, such an association with job satisfaction is not so strong. This could be related to the fact that many elements highly appreciated by participants in Brazil were not directly linked to the work dimension, such as the cultural openness strongly praised by many interviewees giving high marks. It could

¹⁴ All calculations related to work do not count interviewees who were both unemployed and never had any work experience in Brazil, but do consider those who were unemployed at the moment of the interview but previously had a job in Brazil - so they could comment on the previous job and would enable the sample to be minimally robust.

also indicate that interviewees were giving such a high value for work because so many of them were struggling to find a job during the first months in the new host society, reinforcing the point suggested in the beginning of this section.

Figure R – General satisfaction in Brazil (crescent scale in the x axis) vs satisfaction with job in Brazil (in light and dark blue)



Additionally, as ‘to progress in life’ was also frequently mentioned among the valued things, interviewees were asked if their current job in Brazil was in a lower, higher or similar hierarchical position comparing with the job in the place of origin. Overall, there was a tendency of lower job positions in the new place, following similar findings in Hodgett and Clark (2011) and Bonnici (2009). Interviewees most relate these lower positions with the extra difficulties imposed by language barriers, non-recognition of educational certificates and lack of awareness among employers about the validity of their documentation (i.e. the possibility to hire migrants holding the protocol of asylum request) - challenges demanding relatively simple initiatives that will be addressed in the final chapter. In terms of satisfaction with the job, interviewees who said they were satisfied with their job in the place of origin mostly showed to be satisfied with their current job in Brazil too. Similarly, those less satisfied also tended to keep this negative evaluation concerning the job in Brazil.

When comparing job positions in Brazil and satisfaction with jobs in Brazil, those in higher positions tended to be more satisfied with their job. Such findings dialogue with tendencies underlined by Griffith (2006) and Bonnici (2009), studies that also emphasise the human dimension of migrants more directly, and the effects of labour inclusion on broader areas of life in the host society. These authors also emphasise how migrants tend to see in their jobs not simply a means

for incomes but also a space to find meaningful missions. In this direction, the sense of progress in a career brings this important effect not simply on resources but especially on more subjective levels, as observed in the present case study. Such notions appear in comments such as those of M.J.*:

“Of course it is important to have a salary by the end of the month. But it is also important to be working because I do things, I learn, I use my time and interact with more people. (...) All this makes me feel useful and alive ” - M.J.

Following these findings, another aspect that could contribute to explaining such a strong value given to ‘work’ is the frequent feeling of boredom, inertia and incompleteness among interviewees while they are unemployed. This reinforces the high value given to ‘having a mission’ and ‘feeling fulfilled’, which many of them have associated to work too. There were many comments on how they feel more useful and empowered when they can produce things or apply their knowledge, especially when ‘working with what they love’ (another point frequently mentioned among the things they have reasons to value). The fieldwork studies in Conradson and McKay (2007) have pointed out similar tendencies of such a subjective importance of work among migrants in vulnerability, indicating how the feeling of having a mission might play a very relevant role in such situations, including in the labour dimension.

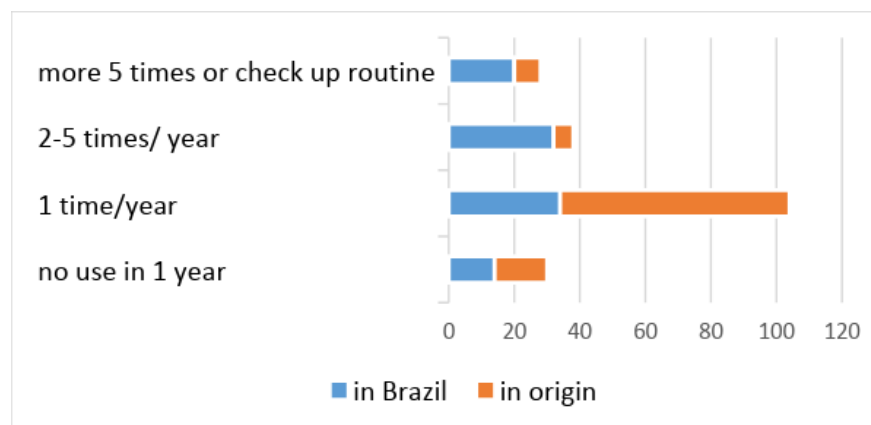
Considering this scenario, policies to stimulate the job placement of vulnerable migrants are crucial not simply in economic terms but also in these subjective and social dimensions, impacting on the way they see themselves and how they integrate into society. For this reason, the final chapter focuses mainly on policies in this direction, considering labour beyond a mere occupation or means for incomes and putting attention on its potentials to boost individual and local development.

b) Main findings concerning the valued thing ‘being healthy’ and related aspects

‘Being healthy’ was another thing strongly emphasised by participants in what they consider a good life. Some parts of ‘being healthy’ relate to certain external conditions such as the access to and quality of health services, and other parts of it refer to personal habits such as the quality of meals, physical exercise and sleep (UNDP, 2015). The questionnaire included questions in all these aspects, but the most relevant findings were especially in the use and evaluation of health services when comparing Sao Paulo and their places of origin.

Considering the access to health services, in the first year concerned, 82% of interviewees have used public healthcare at least once. A surprising share of 20% said they have used it more than 5 times in just one year, which is already much higher than the frequency of their healthcare use before migrating. While 52% said they have used it more than once in Brazil in the first year, only 8% said they have used it that often in the place of origin. This finding of higher healthcare use in the host country is contrary to some findings of studies held among migrants facing vulnerability in Canada, such as Preibisch and Hennebry (2011), and in northern Europe, such as Norredam, Nielsen and Krasnik (2009). These studies have found a low use of healthcare in these host countries especially owing to its costs for non-nationals. In the present case study, at least three factors seemed to be relevant to potentially explain this higher frequency of healthcare use. Firstly, the entire gratuity of Brazilian healthcare for non-nationals, mentioned by almost all the interviewees who said to use it more often than in the origin country. Secondly, in this case study most of the countries of origin did not have a public health service entirely for free, which was a core reason mentioned by participants to explain their scarce use in the country of origin. Thirdly, most participants come from much smaller cities and often from remote areas of their countries, where participants say that healthcare facilities were not as spread out as in a big metropolis like São Paulo.

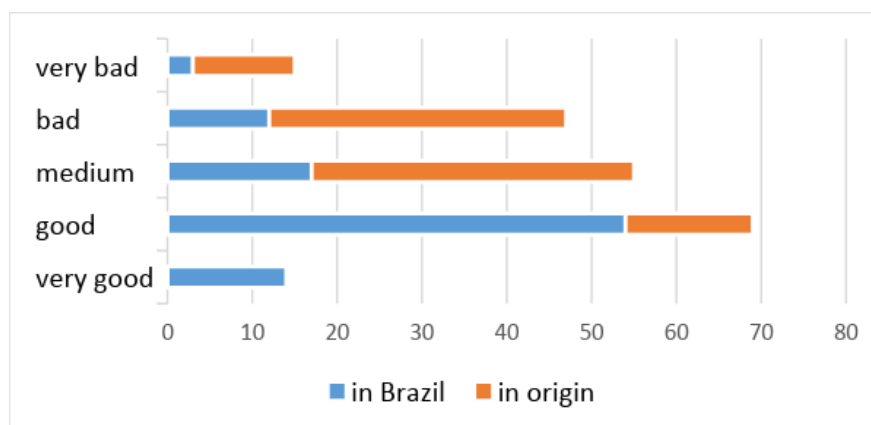
Figure S - Access to public health services in Brazil and in place of origin



Another aspect related to 'being healthy' is the evaluation about the healthcare accessed. Overall, the majority perceives the medical care received in Brazil as positive, with 54% considering it 'Good' and 14% 'Very good'. The negative evaluations account for much less than this (15%), as shown below.¹⁵

¹⁵ Only 13% of the sample was taking continuous medicine for a chronic disease or a long-term treatment already existent in the country of origin. For this group, the evaluation of health service in Brazil was particularly high, especially owing to the gratuity of medication for which most needed to pay in the country of origin. Most of them also had priority on medical consultations.

Figure T – Evaluation of health systems in Brazil and in place of origin



Among the most frequent reports about experiences using public healthcare in Brazil, one should highlight the complaints on waiting too long for medical exams and appointments. This was the main problem mentioned by the interviewees who responded ‘Medium’, ‘Bad’ and ‘Very bad’. In some cases the interviewees needed to wait for several months to have a consultation with a specialist doctor, then some more months for an available date to do the exam they required, and afterwards wait even longer to finally have a return appointment to have the exam results checked by the specialist. As C.M.* describes:

“I needed to wait for so long that I thought they lost my papers or forgot my case, and I imagined this was because I was a migrant and they would give less priority for me. But then I realised it was actually a general difficulty that everyone was facing, even Brazilians, because it is a very high demand with not enough structure as in a rich country. (...) Still, in my home country this treatment would never be for free as it is here in Brazil (...) I would never be able to do this in a private doctor there”. - C.M.

Concerning the positive aspects underlined, the most mentioned (90%) is the gratuity of the healthcare system in Brazil. This was highlighted both by the interviewees evaluating with positive marks of the scale and those marking in the negative spectrum. Almost all the individuals consulted directly declared to highly value the free healthcare. Additionally, compared with the evaluation of the health system in the country of origin, one can see that participants consider the current healthcare clearly better, and so one could expect that they would have their capability expanded for that sphere. As the graphs above have shown, 14% considered it ‘very good’ in Brazil against 0 when considering the country of origin, and 54% evaluating Brazil’s system as ‘good’ while this

percentage is only 15% for the country of origin. For those evaluating as 'bad' and 'very bad' the numbers more than double when the healthcare of the country of origin is in question.

When comparing the evaluation of healthcare in the country of origin and in Brazil, there was a strong coincidence of those evaluating Brazilian healthcare positively and origin's healthcare negatively. This could possibly indicate a stronger appreciation for Brazil's system based not simply on this healthcare's own features but on the strong negative image of the system in the country of origin (comparing to which, the Brazilian system's difficulties would maybe be smoothed). Besides this finding, a significant frequency is also noticeable for those evaluating the Brazilian system as positive and the origin's system as medium – which can be related to a similar reaction as the previous one. Finally, there is also a considerable (although much lower) frequency of those evaluating both healthcare similarly – either as both negatively or both positively. The cases with both negative evaluations could be related to a more critical opinion in general, which would expect and demand better services more broadly. The cases indicating both positively could potentially relate to a contrary direction, having a less critical and not very strict expectation – maybe expecting a lower level that both systems would be able to achieve.

Despite the Brazilian health system's problems in infrastructure, lack of vacancies and distribution (Paim & Teixeira, 2007), most of the interviewees classified it in positive terms because their basis of comparison was mainly their place of origin – which had even worse conditions according to most of them. The standards for their evaluation are grounded in a context with more difficulties. That is why a complete analysis of a service must consider the evaluation of users but also contextualise it. The concrete situation of the service must be compared to other services and a minimum standard in which they are supposed to be provided. If actions in the service would be taken only based on the criteria of users' contexts, they could be lowered according to their expectations and then not enhanced as they should be, in order to reverse the situation and improve it as it could be improved. As put by Nussbaum "(...)In this way, preference-based approaches frequently end up supporting an unjust status quo and opposing real change. (Nussbaum, 2006, p.283). This discussion dialogues with the concept of adaptive preferences referred in the first chapter, since very often people tend to expect and pursue only what they consider achievable (Teschl & Comim, 2007).

Besides the health services, personal habits also count in the general health situation of an individual. Thus, the personal habits concerning meals, sleep and physical exercise must also be considered when analysing the capability dimension related to the functioning 'being healthy', suggested by Verkerk, Busschbach and Karssing (2001). Three key aspects concerning health were assessed: nutrition, hours of sleep, physical exercise and leisure time for relaxation.

Regarding nutrition, although most would have three meals a day both in the place of origin and in Brazil, a key finding was that several interviewees would often skip one meal when searching for jobs too far to return for free lunch to CRAI or Missão Paz (and not having enough money to buy food outside). In terms of sleep quality, many interviewees underlined the difficulty to sleep in a room shared with strangers with different timings and schedules, and some others often comment they would sleep more in Brazil since they were unemployed and so had more spare time. Concerning physical exercise, the main finding was that only a tiny minority would practise it regularly both in the place of origin and in Brazil, mainly because their jobs would already be very demanding in physical terms. Regarding relaxation in leisure time, a relevant finding was that very few are aware about cultural activities in São Paulo (mostly justifying it by knowing little about such a big metropolis or fearing to spend too much of their very limited resources).

c) Main findings concerning the valued thing ‘being educated’ and related aspects

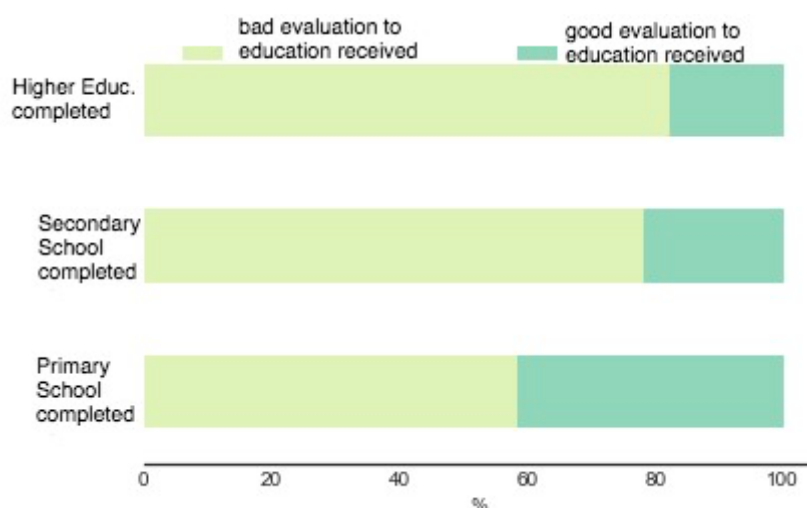
The initial part of the analysis addressing ‘being educated’ dealt with access to education services in Brazil and in the place of origin, followed by interviewees’ evaluations and comments about the quality of this education. All interviewees were attending the free Portuguese courses offered by Missão Paz and CRAI twice a week, which are mandatory and held in the charities’ own facilities. Both charities also help residents to enroll in extra free courses held by NGOs and São Paulo’s city council, which were attended by 25% of the interviewees. A significant amount of 15% was attending free technical courses provided by São Paulo city council - mostly seasonal workshops on mechanics, sewing, handicrafts, baking and electrical techniques. Since only a small minority had children attending school in Brazil, and as this was not the focus of the research, the evaluations concerning children’s schooling in Brazil was not included in further analysis of ‘being educated’¹⁶. Concerning all courses attended in Brazil, 80% of of interviewees evaluated it positively (55% as ‘good’ and 30% ‘very good’), with far fewer people considering it ‘medium’ (11%) and only 4% evaluating it as ‘bad’.

Since the educational levels attended in the place of origin and in Brazil were so different, it would not be suitable to compare interviewees’ evaluations about them (i.e. comparing a whole primary and secondary school system attended in the origin with just a temporary and sporadic Portuguese course attended in Brazil), so the analysis focused more on education in the place of origin. A relevant finding is that interviewees with higher educational level tended to rank the

¹⁶ Although 30% have children, only 10% of the sample were able to bring their children to Brazil. These children are living with them in CRAI and MissãoPaz and are all enrolled in free public schools or nursery/pre-school, since the Brazilian State guarantees access to free public education both for citizens and non-citizens, similarly to the health care system.

education received in the country of origin lower, as shown in the following figure. To draw potential interpretations of this, it might be useful to reflect on CA insights concerning the impacts of material conditions and social opportunities in shaping individuals' views (Sen, 1999). It would be possible to expect that a longer period of education allowed the person to develop a stricter judgement, with more critical sense and more ground for comparisons to evaluate an educational system. Most participants that ranked their previous education highly have not added further comments about it or explained why they found it good, even when motivated to deepen their evaluation. Those individuals ranking it low presented more arguments to justify their evaluation, often mentioning political corruption and historical difficulties of their countries of origin that influenced the school system, as well as referring to other international educational systems that they heard/read about.

Figure U - Educational level and evaluation of education in the country of origin:



Nevertheless, educational preparation did not seem to translate so easily in job placement, with most interviewees working in positions requiring lower formal qualification. Studies such as Villen (2012), Aydos (2010), Patarra (2005) and Baeninger & Leoncey (2001) have found similar tendencies of this discrepancy between educational level and quality of employment in other contexts. Other international studies such as Bartram (2010) and Shantz (2015) have shown that migrants tend to have labour positions below their qualification, also receiving lower wages when compared to native citizens with the same level and even lower qualifications. In this aspect, and following a capability-inspired line, Näre (2014) underlines the importance of looking not only to increases in incomes after individuals migrate, but also to how much they consider their jobs to be meaningful.

Still, for this sample one must keep in mind that many interviewees declared that they were already occupying jobs below their qualification in the countries of origin. However, in Brazil this tendency was strengthened, since 40% of them work at a lower position - in terms of hierarchy and qualification - than in the place of origin. Those declaring to be in a similar position count to 53%, while only 7% declared to be in a higher job. Thus, in the general picture of the sample, it is possible to say that migration did not reflect in a higher job placement at least in the first year of adaptation for these migrants. As L.P.* indicates:

"I was already very sad to have a bad job not related to my degree (at my place of origin), and here I thought they would value my education more. (...) But then I still don't have my education recognised as it should be, and there is even an extra barrier of the language, and some employers do not understand very well my certificates" - L.P.

Although individuals might present a certain educational certification that might be high, or despite the fact that they would evaluate the education received fairly positively, it is important to have further means to measure the actual quality and impact of this education on their current general knowledge. The completion of educational levels can often represent a formal certification more than an actual knowledge of the content expected, since it does not examine more deeply the quality of the education received. This was a clear tendency found when analysing the answers to the five questions on general knowledge proposed in the questionnaire.

The first question was a basic percentage calculus that would frequent appear in daily interactions such as purchasing/bargaining¹⁷, which more than half of the group (57%) answered incorrectly or did not know the answer to. Another question asked the name of the president of the country of origin, which 20% answered incorrectly (a concerning scenario, considering that this is a basic information about the country's situation). Participants were also asked the name of Brazil's president (Michel Temer), especially because the interview period was marked by a growing attention on this topic by Brazilian and international media, with Temer replacing the former president Dilma Rousseff in a political climate of polemic and tension. Still, 77% gave a wrong answer or did not know, despite the emphasis of that topic in the period. The final questions on general knowledge tested basic notions of the hosting place. The first one asked the approximate population of São Paulo city¹⁸, with 80% of wrong answers even considering a margin of tolerance

¹⁷ The question was "If a product costs \$100 and I have a 10% discount on it, how much should I pay?". This topic was chosen precisely because it is frequent in a daily routine of simple purchases, so the questionnaire would not test a too specific information lost in school times, but a useful knowledge that is commonly applied in daily interactions.

¹⁸ For this question no precise answer was expected, since this number might vary according to the metropolitan areas considered, and according to the institution measuring it. Answers ranging at least in approximate numbers would be considered correct. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2017), São Paulo city had an estimated population of 12 million people. Thus, answers varying from 10 to 15 million were considered correct, since

for approximations. The other question asked an approximate guess about the Brazilian minimum salary, with 67% answering wrongly, even considering an approximate margin for errors¹⁹.

For a sample with a medium to high educational level, there was a surprisingly low frequency of correct answers in all the questions, even among those with higher degrees. The poor knowledge about Brazil reinforces the findings from the sections discussing agency, which indicated that key reasons to choose Brazil were very subjective and abstract. This reminds that individual choices are not necessarily based on well-informed calculus and previous research about alternatives in the way utilitarian views would expect, as argued in the previous section concerning individual agency.

Moreover, the high frequency of wrong answers might also indicate that the access to educational services alone might not be enough, since it is also necessary to understand which type of education is being provided and how it dialogues with the students' aspirations to achieve what they value as 'being educated'. Biggeri and Santi (2012) remind that several other factors beyond access to school might count for a student to evolve their capabilities overtime, including access to broader information and appropriate training, the openness of the family and the social surroundings to dialogue and learn from students, as well as safe contexts and spaces to learn with and from the community. As these authors sum up: "The standard educational system and context (such as classrooms) are relevant for enhancing learning but are not sufficient: other forms of education and contexts are necessary and should be mainstreamed in the educational systems. This poses the need to rethink initial and in-service training of education practitioners, in order to turn the traditional teacher/ educator-centred approach into a learner-centred one, overcoming a view of education as only content-knowledge transmission as opposed to a capability-oriented approach to knowledge, possibilities, and values coconstruction." (2012, p.390)

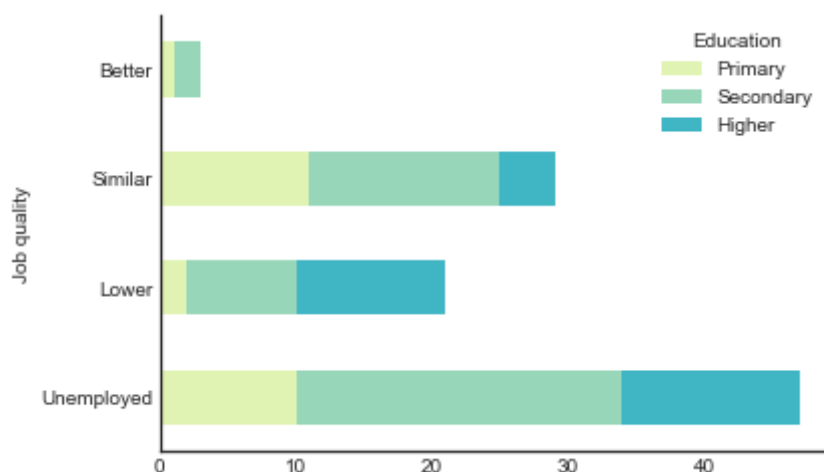
In addition to that, another point strongly emphasised by interviewees is the relations of education and job placement, since most of them were in jobs lower than their educational qualification. Firstly, it is important to mention that in almost every case this was already happening in their place of origin, given the scarcity of jobs and the necessity to accept any work to achieve at least some basic means. Secondly, it was also found that a higher education degree does not necessarily translate into a job of higher position in Brazil, nor a guarantee of being employed at all,

they would be a reasonable estimation. It is important to indicate here that most of the wrong answers were not close to this estimation, with many interviewees guessing population numbers around thousands.

¹⁹ The minimum salary in Brazil was established by the government at R\$937 (around £240) per month in 2017, when the interviews were held (DOU, 2016). Once again, a margin of error was tolerated, since it would not be reasonable to expect an exact knowledge of the precise salary. Thus, answers varying from R\$900 to R\$1,000 were accepted as correct. Even so, only 33% of interviewees answered correctly. Since the search for job was often emphasised by the whole group as a main priority, more people would be expected to know about the minimum salary in Brazil, since this is commonly informed in job vacancies and in the services for job placement.

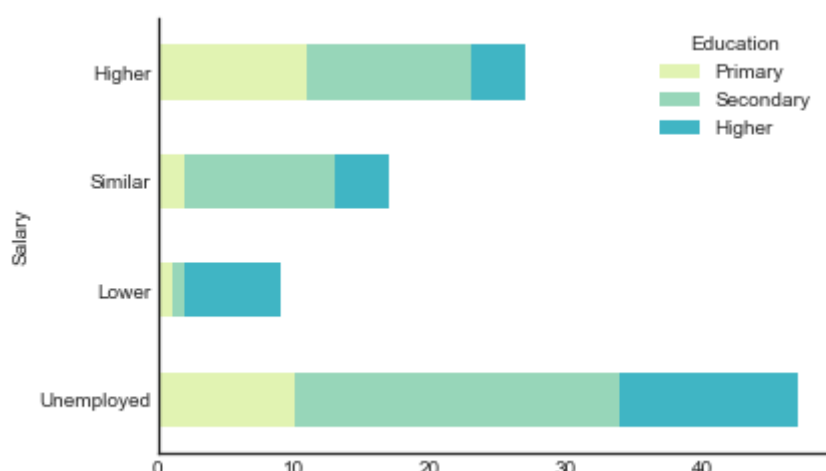
as the figure below shows. Among the participants who were unemployed, the share of individuals with basic and higher education was very similar. Additionally, among those in a higher position in Brazil, none had higher education, and in the group in lower positions the largest share is precisely composed by individuals with higher education. Similar trends appear concerning salaries in Brazil, with higher education not necessarily translating into higher salaries, as illustrated in the figure. Similar findings were indicated in studies among other groups of migrants in vulnerability such as Behtoui and Neergaard (2010) and Fullin and Reyneri (2011), suggesting that job placements would require not only an educational qualification but also specific types of social capital based on the local culture and practices, which are frequently scarce among migrants during their initial time in the new society.

Figure V – Educational level and job quality in Brazil (comparing to job in origin)²⁰:



²⁰ The horizontal axis represents which percentage of the group with the indicated job quality had the educational level indicated. A similar illustration pattern is used in the subsequent figure (number 17).

Figure W – Educational level and salary in Brazil (comparing to salary in origin):



Although most participants seemed to acknowledge that educational preparation does not necessarily translate to higher job positions both in the place of origin and in Brazil, participants still rank ‘being educated’ as a thing that they have reasons to value. This can be associated with the high value they also give to ‘learning new things’, ‘progress in life’ and ‘being independent’, which relate to further outcomes of education beyond employability. In this respect, almost all interviewees have praised education as means to become more informed and critical, as well as to acquire more awareness and autonomy about their opinions and decisions. Such knowledge might not necessarily be formal in content, as seen with the high frequency of wrong answers to general knowledge questions. Instead, this praised knowledge was frequently associated with other aspects of social life. For instance, more than twenty participants associate school with learning moral values, socialising, learning to deal with authority and respecting others. Thus, the reasons to value education consider not only its impacts on employability, income expectations and learnings of formal content, but also (and apparently even more strongly) its impacts on these general preparation for social life. As the comments from J.C.* and M.L.* illustrate:

“When I was studying, I believed that the course would help me to find good jobs in future. But then gradually I started to realise that the market is much more complicated and that only the educational certificate might not guarantee the placement you aimed (...) But I still consider it important anyways, because studying has made me a better person”. - J.C.

“The school helps you not only with numbers (...) it shows you that it is important to respect the older ones, to share things with your peers, to be patient and respectful.” - M.L.

d) Main findings concerning the valued thing ‘being independent’ and related aspects

Regarding ‘being independent’, 80% of participants commented that they still don’t consider themselves independent especially because they were still relying on the provision of CRAI and Missão Paz. Still, frequent comments indicate an expectation of gradually increasing autonomy once they find a job and an affordable rent for having their own place. There were frequent comments reinforcing the importance of the free health service and educational courses in this dimension of autonomy, since this helps to save money.

As CRAI and Missão Paz keep a strict schedule for waking up, meals and activities, this routine does not allow interviewees to set their own schedule according to their pace and timing. This was a frequent complaint that interviewees associate with some lack of autonomy, though many comments acknowledged that it would be too difficult for CRAI and Missão Paz’s logistics to accommodate each resident’s own pace. Since they share common rooms and bathrooms, they are asked to respect certain times in order to avoid disturbing other residents. Moreover, they are also expected to return at a certain time in the evening, so the directors of the centres can be sure they are safe. Only residents working in night shifts are allowed to come back later than the settled times. This way, some interviewees commented that this schedule hinders the possibility to promenade at the times they would wish, and to explore São Paulo further. As B.C.* indicates:

“I am a very nocturnal person, I would prefer to do the Portuguese classes later, and to go out later to see more the city at night. But then we must come back to the room, because they are worried when we are not back, the staff here always tell us to take care in these surroundings, since the neighbourhood is known to be a bit unsafe and too dark. For me, it looks ok, I know it is a big city with violence but I come from a war zone”. - B.C.

Since the dimension of work was so highly valued by interviewees, it was also relevant to examine the relations of ‘being independent’ with this dimension. Those who were working or had already worked in Brazil were asked about their autonomy in their job in the place of origin and in Brazil. The difference in such autonomy after migrating was not very significant, since the majority declared to have no autonomy at work in neither of the places (63% with no autonomy in Brazil and 55% in the place of origin), declaring to be subordinated to external decisions and not really able to decide about their tasks. Griffith (2006) and Verduzco and Lozano (2003) have indicated a similar lack of autonomy among Latin American vulnerable migrants working in the USA and Canada in their initial months, underlining its consequences on the migrants’ evaluations about their life quality.

In the present sample only 29% affirmed to have more autonomy in their jobs in Brazil - and in several cases this did not reflect a higher position in the internal hierarchy of a company, but the relative independence of being in informality. The majority of those declaring to have autonomy in their work in Brazil were working as freelancers in cleaning and construction, or as independent street vendors. Theodore, Valenzuela and Meléndez (2009) remind that, although these informal occupations would play an important role in the initial settlement of migrants in vulnerability, providing at least some minimal conditions for subsistence, these occupations would still lack the legal protection so important to guarantee basic rights and avoid exploitation, as well as a certain stability that can contribute to a more secure and steady settlement in the long term.

e) Main findings concerning the valued thing ‘enjoy family’ and related aspects

Since ‘enjoy family’ was highly ranked by participants, and ‘having friends’ also had a significant frequency, it was relevant to examine some features of interviewees’ social interactions in these directions. Regarding ‘enjoy family’, it is relevant to observe 90% of interviewees decided to migrate by themselves, either because they could not afford to bring their families, or because the intention was only to raise money temporarily and then return to their households and relatives. Overall, a significant majority (76%) had up to two relatives depending on them (either child, parents or siblings). Although 30% of the sample had at least one child, only 10% of the total sample brought them to Brazil. In this parent group specifically, almost everyone mentioned the intention to remain in Brazil and bring their children and partner once they settle down with more stability and wealth to host them all. Thus, given that almost all interviewees came without any family members, the possibility to ‘enjoy family’ is considerably restrained.

Another core finding in this dimension is the central role that technology plays to smooth the struggles of being far from family. The daily use of communication tools such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Skype is mentioned in almost all interviews, with a central relevance in social, economic and emotional dimensions of interviewees’ routines. Constant communication was considered relevant not only to keep social ties and to ease emotional struggles related to homesickness, but even to help attending more concrete demands in the place of origin, for instance concerning money transfers. Since some relatives might depend on these migrants’ remittances to afford important goods, this constant contact is of key relevance, as Petit (2007) and Sandron and Guilmoto (2001) underline. A key difficulty underlined in this direction is the weak signal coverage in their places of origin, especially because in many cases the families were living in remote or poor areas lacking this digital infrastructure. There were also frequent complaints about wifi constraints in CRAI and Missão Paz. The charities purposely provide Wi-Fi only in certain

common areas and with a weak signal, as means to stimulate residents to explore more the surroundings and not become isolated from that while using their phones in the rooms.

Although this stimulation for outside interaction is important, this measure disregards the importance that casual communication with relatives plays in the quality of life and emotional conditions in the initial phase, as Conradson and McKay (2007) underline. Several interviews indicated the importance of keeping such ties as underlined in Conradson and McKay (2007), not only to allay homesickness but also to provide some sense of control over certain things back home. The need to be updated about the city of origin was frequently mentioned too, since in this initial phase the links with the place of origin are still so recent and fresh. Comments such as M.B.*'s indicates the importance of such links:

"It is natural that we keep contacting our families so much, because nothing replaces our family. Living in the accommodation is nice, but of course it is not like living with my family. This place is good, they are so generous to give us food and shelter and help with some other stuff, but it is not meant to be like home, it is provisional, it is just an initial hand for us." - M.B.

CHAPTER 6

“DEBATES ON TRANSNATIONAL RIGHTS:

ENTITLEMENT FOR DIGNITY REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY CRITERIA”

The previous section has summed up the things migrants have reasons to value in what they consider a good life. Most of these things dialogue with fundamental rights that are expected for a decent life, such as being healthy, educated and respected (UDHR, 1948; UN, 2015). A remarkable finding in this direction is that interviewees very often refer to their entitlement to minimum rights that were not provided in their place of origin ‘as they should be’. The very reference to ‘as they should be’ indicates some notion about these basic rights and minimum guarantees that every human being is entitled in order to have a decent life. This reflects the increasing sense of ‘international legal personality’, as Soysal (2012) refers to it, that follows the spread of human rights notions worldwide (UNDP, 2015). The initial chapter has indicated the importance of this claim for minimum welfare as an universal right, regardless of nationality criteria. This section explores this dimension further, based on findings of the fieldwork and on insights from the theoretical framework presented in the initial chapter - blending the Capability Approach with a rights-based approach such as developed by Seyla Benhabib (2004, 2008, 2009) and Saskia Sassen (2002, 2008, 2011).

Strategies for pursuing legalisation and related rights

Since there is a lack of visa categories and flexibility to include these people in temporary documentation, migrants in vulnerability have increasingly used the protocol of asylum request as an alternative to remain documented in Brazil at least during the months of the asylum evaluation (OIM, 2017). Reflecting this broader national scenario, the asylum request strategy was the main strategy used by interviewees, with 51% documented in this category. This protocol is granted by CONARE just after an asylum request has been submitted. Since CONARE is an official government agency directed by the Ministry of Justice, it has the authority to provide this document as a formal ID valid in all Brazilian territories (Severo, 2015). The protocol is the official identification document for all asylum seekers, and it also allows them to access any public service. Moreover, holding the protocol migrants are allowed to apply for jobs, sign accommodation contracts and open a bank account (*idem*).

Currently, CONARE, the Brazilian Committee that deals with this matter has more than 86,000 asylum claims under evaluation for 2018-19 (CONARE, 2018), with some still dating from 2015, indicating a clear difficulty to deal with the increasing volume of claims with a very small staff. The final chapter will indicate initiatives that aim to tackle this challenge more directly. In this present chapter, the focus is to reflect on how this scenario reveals an important awareness among migrants about their fundamental rights.

More than one quarter of the recent claims for asylum requests to CONARE were made by individuals who do not meet the criteria recognised by the 1951 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees (United Nations, 1951), used by Brazilian law as the guideline to evaluate the requests (IOM, 2017). In the last registered year, CONARE has rejected 34% of the total requests received, mostly with the justification of non-eligibility of the case according to the international law guiding the evaluation (UNHCR, 2016b). The main circumstances indicated in the Convention are related to general civil war or personal persecution for political views, gender or ethnicity (United Nations, 1951). Although many of the migrants requesting asylum do not come from backgrounds formally recognised as in need for asylum according to official terms, they do come from contexts of severe economic vulnerability. The lines between the so-called ‘economic migrant’ and the refugee can often be very blurred. Several studies on current migration to Brazil have been showing how the poverty in many of these countries of origin is frequently related to violations of human rights, which does relate to the formal criteria for asylum (Severo, 2015; Waldely, Virgens & Almeida, 2014).

On the one hand, this high rejection has a crucial purpose of protecting the very concept of asylum from a generalisation that could weaken the due protection to those fleeing war zones and direct persecution. On the other hand, no alternative support for regularisation is provided for those who do not qualify for asylum, but are still in a very vulnerable context. The vulnerability is even harder for those who came without a long-term visa or residence permission, who are then susceptible to constant risk of deportation and difficulties to access formal services and markets. Frustration about judgement criteria was common among interviewees:

“How can someone who has never stepped in my country decide if I suffered enough, if the situation was bad enough?” - P.M.

“It is very frustrating that we need to prove over and over again how much we suffered... What is the measure for that?” - J.P.

This specific scenario of asylum requests in Brazil brings valuable insights to discuss the Capability Approach’s emphasis on basic economic conditions as minimal rights, as indicated in the

initial chapter. Most migrants in vulnerability requesting asylum justify their claims by economic reasons that escape the official criteria of the 1951 Refugees Convention, but which can also cause severe risk that this discussion should take into consideration. What is implied in this justification for 'socio-economic asylum' is the idea that basic rights include not only political and civil liberties, but also socio-economic rights. It implies the idea that, if lack of political and civil liberties hinders the pursuit of the life a person values (as the standard definition of asylum would acknowledge), so does a severe deprivation in socio-economic terms. These migrants perceive their poverty as a situation eligible for urgent care too. As the comments below indicate:

"My asylum request was rejected because the judge thought my case was not a war, but if only he knew the poverty of my city of origin, he would have understand that there was almost as living in a war zone; my city had no opportunities for a decent life, as if it was destroyed too (...) It was not destroyed by actual bombs, but by the bomb of the economy, the market, the huge debts..." - L.P.

"I think escaping misery is also a reason for asylum, because there was no perspective at all (in my place of origin), I would end up starving there because there was less and less jobs each year, the supermarkets were more and more empty, the schools were gradually closing." - C.C

Since these migrants need to justify and reinforce the pertinence of their asylum request, they increasingly start to perceive their previous deprivation as inadmissible - reinforcing the claim for basic welfare as a minimum right to which they are entitled. Benhabib (2008, 2009) underlines this increasing tendency to vindicate migration as a legitimate means to realise minimum socio-economic rights, since deprivation on these rights can be as harmful as deprivation of fundamental rights.

"(...) Maybe these judges think that people are only dying from bombs in Syria, but in my country I saw poverty killing many of my neighbours too (...) I feel my rights were not respected there, because the government does not give even the most basic stuff (...) if this is a right, it should be given to us, right? It should be given to every human being" - L.K.

Still, the asylum request has only a temporary status and is not enough to tackle the migrant's vulnerability. Firstly, because a potential neglect of the asylum request can happen at any time, the person is not sure about how long one can stay in a house or in a fixed job. Additionally, there is a lack of awareness about the legitimacy of the protocol among employers and staff working in key services such as bank, housing and even in the public basic services (Severo, 2015). Several interviewees underlined their difficulty to convince employers or public workers that their protocol was a valid document to be formally employed or to use the service in question. The

final chapter addresses measures in this direction. J.L.*'s comment illustrates some frustrations related to this dimension.

"Very often I feel like people do not believe in my story of poverty back home, as if I made it all up, not only my story but also this protocol document (...) When I go to an interview and present this asylum protocol, such a simple paper, they think I made it at home, that I print it myself. It is also getting creased inside my wallet, because I need to show it very often. (...) I feel people think I am lying about a struggle that is actually true, and still hurts me" - J.L.

Claims for access to public services and State aid

The reference to socio-economic rights is recurrent not only in interviewees' justifications about their asylum requests, but also in their views regarding public services and State support in Brazil. Although interviewees would not necessarily be fully aware of general information about Brazil (such as the previous section showed with the high frequency of wrong answers regarding the country), several of them were aware of their entitlement to access public services and State aid. This provision of assistance in equal terms to nationals and non-nationals goes in the direction suggested by Benhabib (2004), aiming to include everyone in the *demos* and therefore in the eligibility for rights. Benhabib (2009) criticises the dominant nation-state model of public services that tend to exclude non-nationals from the *demos* and leave them in vulnerability.

This right to access any public service for free (and as any Brazilian citizen) was an element strongly praised by interviewees, as shown in the previous section of this chapter. Some notions of basic socio-economic rights were noticeable in the comments about health services in the place of origin and in Brazil, considering healthcare not as a product but as a right to be guaranteed everywhere and to everyone, as illustrated in the narratives below from M.L* and J.N*.

"Nobody should be left sick or even abandon to die just because he has a different paper or was born in a different place." - M.L.

"In my country, if you can't pay for healthcare, you are simply left there to die (...) There are good doctors, it is not a matter of bad doctors, but just that their service cost loads of money that very few people there have (....) It was simply not fair." - J.N.

*"We are all humans, we all get sick and have needs sometimes, and other humans should care about that. (...) I am glad health is for free here in Brazil. Every country should have free health too, for everybody. Nobody is better than nobody" - P.M.**

Another important finding regarding their awareness about these socio-economic rights is that 16% of the sample had already enrolled in the conditional cash transfer Bolsa Família. Bolsa Família is the Brazilian State program for conditional cash transfer, which considers not only national citizens but also non-citizens (Castro & Modesto, 2010). CRAI, Missão Paz and other NGOs are increasing their campaigns with migrants to make them aware about the possibility to claim for this benefit. The main conditions for receiving the monthly transfer of R\$85 (around £20) is proving to be updated with medical check-ups, children's minimum attendance in school and search for jobs (Cempelo & Néri, 2013).

The small amount granted by Bolsa Família (around £20 per month) is far from enough to start building a solid path for economic autonomy. Although this immediate help for urgent needs is crucial, it should be followed by some support with job placement and capacity building in order to bring a perspective of development in a longer term (Cmpelo & Néri, 2013; Castro & Modesto, 2010). The final chapter will indicate initiatives in this direction. Still, the very possibility to alleviate basic needs is a fundamental right for these migrants in severe vulnerability, as M.K.* comments:

"(Bolsa Familia cash transfer) is not much, but it makes a huge difference for me because it allows me to at least do some basic things, for instance being able to pay for a bus ticket to search for jobs or to bring my child to the doctor (....) Before that, I could not even pay a ticket and then needed to walk for so many hours that when arriving at CRAI I could barely feel my feet." - M.K.

This sense of entitlement for basic aid and public services is especially crucial for the contexts of these migrants, who faced serious vulnerabilities in the place of origin and were often escaping severe poverty and danger. Participants refer to their decision to migrate as an act of putting the pursuit of these basic rights in practice. The CA has extensively contributed to this debate about minimal demands of wellbeing – in the form of basic functionings, such as not to be hungry – and wellbeing freedom – in the form of capabilities, such as having the means to avoid

hunger. Claims for such basic welfare rights derive from the recognition of the universal statute of each human being, which is a concept that is inherently transnational (Sassen; 2010; Sen, 2009).

Notions of rights beyond the nation-state

The Capability Approach emphasises how the notion of basic freedoms and rights come long before territorial divisions as they are today, and therefore should not be limited by criteria based on nationality (Nussbaum, 1997, 2009). In this perspective, every human being has the entitlement to basic freedoms and rights, and that the whole of humanity has the duty to realise these entitlements. Benhabib (2009) reminds that the guarantee of basic rights derives from the recognition of the universal statute of each human being, following Arendt's (1973) concept of the "right to have rights", which does not depend on the nationality of the individual. Acknowledging the fundamental character of these rights, it is not suitable to leave their realisation to national governments' arbitration, as Sassen reinforces.

Thus, modern democracies that follow the international agreements on human rights (such as Brazil) are expected to guarantee fundamental rights to all people (United Nations, 1948) - including non-nationals, whose right to have rights is valid across borders. Recognising this requires more flexibility in domestic institutions, as Nussbaum underlines: "[nations] cannot and should not insist that their domestic structure is fixed and final. (...) a new account of the purposes of international cooperation animates the spirit of the entire enterprise, with ideas of human global fellowship taking the place of the thinner idea of mutual advantage." (2009, p.323). Domestic institutions are so based on the nation-state model that they become gradually less adapted to the current demands of the global economy, as Sassen underlines.

Sassen complements and advances the CA discussions on this topic when she further analyses how economic globalisation has been transforming the territoriality and sovereignty of the nation-state, as well as the impacts this global economy has on the very concept of citizenship. The global economy has been imposing new conditions that might reshape our current concept of citizenship and the rights associated with it. It has been showing that the bundle of rights that came with the welfare State are not the ultimate definition, especially if we consider the recent crises of welfare States and increasing inequalities even in countries considered highly developed (UNDP, 2015). Sassen (2002, 2011) demonstrates how global companies and financial markets have been using their global nature as a basis to create new conditions vis-a-vis nation-states, acquiring an increasing power over governments worldwide - as if these companies and financial markets had

an economic citizenship. She then suggests that citizens start to pursue this global citizenship too, based on the global nature of human rights, pursuing this form of economic citizenship that empowers them and entitles them to demand accountability from governments worldwide. Actions in this direction can be found in the way some migrants act towards the Brazilian State, owning their claims for basic rights and demanding some accountability, based on a sense of global citizenship that entitles them to do so.

Additionally, it is crucial to keep in mind that this criterion of nationality is neither natural or pre-determined. The nation-state's logic produces differences where they were not necessarily existent, transforming people by telling them they are different and therefore eligible for distinct rights (Sen, 2015). Instead, rights recognition should be related to the very humanity of each person, reinforcing that every individual is an end in itself. As put by Sen, "the normative demands of being guided by humanity or 'humaneness' can build on our membership of the wide category of human beings, irrespective of our particular nationalities, or sects, or tribal affiliations" (2001, p.142). As non-citizens start to integrate more into the rights regime, national citizenship is no longer the only basis for the attribution of rights. This right for humanity presumes a duty of admission in civil society and assurance of freedom for every individual, regulated by a civil legislation. To this end, any liberal democracy should renegotiate and reinforce the engagement with human rights above national criteria of belonging (Gualano de Godoy, 2016).

Benhabib's (2008, 2009) view reinforces the critiques to the unsuitability of the current concept of citizenship based on nation-States highlighted by Sassen and Sen. The contributions from Benhabib can complement and advance some of Sassen's suggestions regarding new forms of citizenship. Benhabib proposes a concept of citizenship where each democratic context can articulate and update the previous idea of citizenship, permitting new forms to arise (2009). This process would constantly rebuild the concept of citizenship through communicative practices, negotiating with those willing to enter the political community, prioritising human rights and respecting the diversity of different communities. Such a practice is very much in line with the reflections developed in the CA referring to public reasoning, human rights and the inclusion of diversity (Nussbaum, 2009; Sen, 2009). Such a tendency could also be found during the process of building the New Migration Law in Brazil (described in the second chapter), with public consultancies, open discussions, shared elaborations and horizontal evaluations where migrants have actively participated. Still, it is concerning that the later phases of this process had not followed this line, as the second chapter explained, unfortunately shifting towards retrograde perspectives.

CHAPTER 7

“IDENTITIES AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS:

INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELDWORK ABOUT CULTURAL LIBERTY”

During the interviews there was a frequent emphasis on cultural diversity and hospitality as core means for integration. Since many interviewees used to associate these characteristics with Brazil before migrating (as shown previously), they declared to have strongly considered this idea of cultural openness in their migration decision. After moving, most of them still indicated cultural openness as a thing that they have reasons to value in their new life, since it facilitates interactions with locals through multiple channels. The present section explores this dimension further, based on Sen's suggestions to expand the concept of identity, combined with insights from the hybrid-multiculturalist approach of Peter Fry and Livio Sansone. The need for capability-inspired studies addressing multiculturalism issues has been highlighted by Hodgett and Clark (2011), indicating the importance to deepen the analysis in this direction.

Multiple ways to integrate

Emphasising the particularities of ethnic and national groups can have a side effect of limiting the paths for integration that an individual can pursue, as Sen (2006) highlights. Having more flexible paths for integration was highly praised by interviewees in this fieldwork. More than 60% of them have valued the idea they had about Brazil as a mixture of cultures, where they could join different groups not necessarily linked to their nationality. When commenting on life after migrating, they referred very often to other groups through which they access services and build the first social interactions. For instance, participants who were pregnant and/or had small children underlined the importance of the group meetings for maternity support that are promoted in public clinics. As H.G.* and M.P.* indicate:

“It is beautiful to talk to other mothers and see that we all face similar challenges. I see that if they were able to overcome it, then I would be able too. - H.G.

"We share tips, contacts, stories, even if I do not understand every word of each other because of the language, we understand each other well because we are all facing this special thing of motherhood (...) I think the care and the worries of a mother here or in the other side of the world will be similar". - M.P.

In a similar vein, a quarter of participants reported religious links as another relevant sense of belonging, as the following comments from L.K.*, P.B.* and C.M.* illustrate:

"I imagined that God would help me, and that my sisters and brothers would have mercy and solidarity. For the eyes of God we are brothers and sisters who should help each other. I thought that I could find a church to seek for some support among other Christians." - L.K.

"I like to go to the church because I feel welcome by people that share similar values to mine." - P.B.

*"When I go to the church here, I feel very welcome by the others, white or black, because they know I come with a good intention and to share good things (...) because we believe in the same Christ and He is everywhere for who believes in Him" - C.M.**

Feelings of belonging related to the professional class or to vocational ties are also present in several responses, such as L.P.*, J.G.* and V.O*:

"I found support among my work peers here. I know I had a good preparation in my area and good work experience, so I knew that other people in my sector would recognise it sooner or later. (...)"
L.P.

"I just needed one opportunity to show how well I can build an (electric) circuit, I was sure people would recognise it, anyone good in my area would confirm I do a good job at this". - J.G.

"Every Thursday morning I can't wait to go see my colleagues in the handicraft course, because we always chat and have a nice time. (...) There are some Latinas like me, from different countries, but

mainly Brazilians. (...) We talk about our children, our husbands, they even explain the soap opera for me and I laugh a lot” - V.O.

Following this tendency, there was a frequent reference among interviewees to the possibility of accessing public services through various channels beyond their specific status of migrant. As all public services in Brazil are provided to nationals and non-nationals, many interviewees praised the possibility to access these services not uniquely through the mediation of associations for migrants' assistance. By embracing this right to access general services and participate in social life through varied groups, this person can play with multiple identities as she finds suitable according to the context. This reinforces the agency of the person in following her own values, through the groups that she might find appropriate.

Such an identity flexibility and cultural liberty is very relevant to build the emancipation of migrants in different spheres of social life, as Cuche (2009) underlines. Marinucci and Milesi (2005) remind the importance of these cultural liberty claims not only in the reproductive space of family care and domestic work, but especially in the productive space of external jobs and in the public space of collective exchanges. Some initiatives in this direction are indicated in the final chapter with policy recommendations, showing the importance of stimulating migrants to participate in the daily life of their society through other groups with whom they share elements, or through other categories that they might want to belong to. This means, for instance, promoting awareness among migrant women about services provided for female care in general, or keeping young migrants informed about activities available for the general young public in the city, or informing migrants of a certain professional sector about vacancies in this field, etc.

Main comments on respect and discrimination

Still in this identity domain, it is important to remind that one of the things that interviewees highlighted as most important in a good life was 'being respected'. When commenting about 'being respected', 60% of participants emphasised the importance of having their cultural liberty respected. Many of them commented that they strongly value in Brazil the respect to their cultural features, and the autonomy to decide how to deal with their own identities. Frequent comments associate Brazil with a sense of freedom to embrace multiple identities to which they feel related. This can contribute to the integration process of the migrant in the hosting society, as it builds

bridges with local groups and stimulates relations through common interests or similar practices. Since several interviewees come from regions with ethnic conflicts and explicit persecution of certain groups, it was expected that they would so strongly value 'being respected' and related values of tolerance.

Although certain ethnic minorities in Brazil still face severe difficulties and inequalities, as explained in the second chapter contextualising migration in the country, the general scenario is less critical than other regions of the world suffering official persecution of ethnic minorities and formal prohibitions of certain cultural practices (IOM, 2017, UNHCR, 2014). Still, it was important to keep in mind the Capability Approach's emphasis on contextualising the parameter of comparison of each person, since her positive evaluation of a circumstance might not mean an actual positive scenario, but only a slightly better situation compared with her previous context. As explained in the second chapter, although discrimination is a concerning reality in Brazil (breaking its myth of racial democracy), the management of migration settlement in the country has not fragmented migrant-descendants in several sub-groups as it was done in several destinations of the global North (Fry, 2000; Sansone, 2003). In this respect, more than 60% of interviewees from different ethnicities have commented positively about this hybrid aspect of the relations they experience in Brazil. For instance, several of them refer to feeling more comfortable and free to express their religiosity or ascendance than in the country of origin (as L.M.* and J.P.* narrate):

"In my town there, for very long we had no permission to do our prayings or hold our festivals. (...) I am happy that here I can do that. I could not even dress in a certain way there, because they know it was a Christian thing" - L.M.

"It was hard for me over there, because my ethnic group is a tiny minority and we struggle to keep our lives going with all the government and local services dominated by the other ethnicity. (...) I have heard that it is not easy to be black here in Brazil, but I see that at least I am treated like the other when I ask for a service, when I go to my course, because there are so many blacks here and I think they don't care about their specific ethnicity" - J.P.

To deepen the analysis in this domain, interviewees were asked if they feel they were treated equally to Brazilians; differently but not discriminatory (i.e. with extra support for being in vulnerability or for having difficulties with language and documentation); or negatively discriminated (i.e. based on race, class and whichever characteristic they would comment). A surprisingly large

majority of 70% indicated they feel treated with equality - which cannot be simply interpreted as reflecting pretentiously little discrimination in the country. It is plausible to imagine that perhaps these interviewees had not faced any discrimination because they had only spent few months in the country. Cases of explicit xenophobia have been increasing in contemporary Brazil (Carta Capital, 2017) - however, the perception and repercussion of these cases is often obscured by other headlines considered 'more urgent' to local political agendas or public discussion (CRAI, 2015).

Furthermore, this mostly positive view of Brazilian hospitality among interviewees might also relate to their comparison with portraits of other countries receiving more migrants and reporting more frequent incidents of xenophobia. Following this, it is plausible to think that xenophobic occurrences are less frequent in Brazil than in other countries not necessarily because Brazilian citizens are less xenophobic, but because migration is still not generally seen as a major challenge in the country - firstly because many other difficulties are considered higher priority (CRAI, 2015), and secondly because the total numbers of migrants are not as large as in other countries (IOM, 2017). Proportionally to local populations, migrants are still not a sizeable group in Brazil as in other countries - as shown in the second chapter, they account for less than 1% of the country's population (Policia Federal, 2017). Additionally, although São Paulo city has the largest number of migrants of the country, migrants are not so visible within its 15-million population, which is also much bigger than other Brazilian cities (IBGE, 2010). In places where the migrant presence is more visible to locals, cases of xenophobia have been increasingly denounced. Most occurrences have been registered in places with much smaller populations receiving constant fluxes of migrants, such as small towns in the South and Southeast with Haitians in the butchery and building industries (O Tempo, 2016), or towns on Venezuela's border receiving Venezuelans fleeing the current political and economic crisis there (El Nacional, 2018).

In this domain, it is important to acknowledge that 10% of the sample, mainly composed of individuals with black and indigenous ancestry, answered that they feel discriminated against in Brazil. The most relevant finding in this respect is that discrimination was seen as subtle and implicit in Brazil, and therefore only noticed by some individuals who were living in São Paulo for a longer period, such as V.G.*:

"In the technical course there are other black peers, and as we chat I see they also face some weird looks in some rich places of the city, because of our colour. They were the ones explaining to me how to interpret it, and how to react. There were some details of Brazilian behaviour that I was not noticing (...) In my country racism would be more open and direct, if you are from certain tribes you could get offended in the street, you could be excluded from a job. Here is not that direct. Here

it comes in more subtle things – for instance, people might change their way in the street if they cross with you late at night, because you are black ” - V.G.

Unfortunately, predictions point to probable reinforcements of this discrimination in the coming years, with the current conservative shift and xenophobic tendencies of the recently elected president Bolsonaro (Espinoza & Brumat, 2018). Before being elected, Jair Bolsonaro made polemic speeches referring to migrants in vulnerability and refugees as ‘the scum’ of the world (Exame, 2016). Still, it is also relevant to acknowledge that nobody among this 10% has faced an official discrimination or explicit offences, and that half of this group declared to face less discrimination in Brazil than in the place of origin, reinforcing the comments made above.

Finally, there were 11% declaring to be treated differently but not inferiorly, owing to linguistic or cultural particularities that require special attention or support. There were also 9% of the sample mentioning feeling treated with ‘medium equality’, seeing this as a reaction to other factors beyond being a migrant - such as their economic class, lack of education or other social aspects (living far, not wearing a specific dress code, not having a fixed accommodation of their own, etc.). This reflects the common cycle of vulnerabilities that often affect individuals, in which different deprivations can accumulate and reinforce each other, as Preibisch, Dodd and Su (2016) underline.

Key findings on social interactions

Interactions beyond national groups were common not only with Brazilians but also with other residents from different nationalities. Besides the interviews, during the initial focus group and preparatory observations it was possible to notice strong interaction of residents from different countries, especially according to age, gender and language. It was common to see francophone residents from Congo or Morocco speaking to Haitians through the bonds of the French language. The same pattern was noticeable among Latin Americans, not only owing to the common language but some other shared cultural aspects that they mentioned. It was also remarkable that groups would naturally emerge among the youngest and the oldest residents. The youngest would be gathering especially to listen to music, play with their phones and comment on this, as well as to watch football. The smaller group of people older than 40 would also spontaneously gather in the halls during the mornings, sharing ideas about some news they heard, or sharing advice on jobs. On some days of the week, residents from different countries would naturally organise to go together to a public facility for job placement. Another remarkable feature is the solidarity of

resident women with those who were pregnant or had small children, as well as their special support when a woman was ill.

Such a scenario reinforces the discussions from Sen (1999; 2007), Sansone (2003) and Fry (2000) mentioned in previous chapters. These authors remind that human beings organise in groups that might include some and exclude others, but the criteria for this are very diverse and go well beyond national principles. For this reason, it is important to reinforce the freedom of a migrant to operate identities depending on the circumstances, according to the demands of different situations or to one's specific aims. Sen (2006) highlights the importance to guarantee this freedom regarding what priority to give to one's several identities, based on one's own priorities at a given circumstance. As the findings in previous sections and in the present section indicate, this cultural liberty was a thing that participants showed strong reasons to value.

In Sen's views (2006), cultural liberty is in an act of choice where a person decides on how intensely to embrace the cultural background in which she was born, after considering other alternatives with reasoning. An individual would practise this liberty when reflecting on how to engage with the received behaviour pattern, and when deciding if one's national or cultural identity is more or less important than other identities (religious, political, intellectual, etc.). Thus, a true sense of multiculturalism for migrants' inclusion would respect this liberty, leaving this decision about belongings to the migrant. Sen's insights contribute to this domain by reinforcing the relevance of this liberty, and by prioritising the person's reflection and choice above her inherited tradition. As many interviewees used to associate Brazil with this liberty before migrating, this counted as an attraction factor to move there. After migrating, they still praise this element very strongly in their speeches about their first months of settlement, as demonstrated here.

This identity flexibility and cultural liberty can influence the social interactions of a person. As illustrated in the comments, these migrants were developing multiple relations through several channels with locals and other migrants. In this domain, 40% of the sample declared to have more interactions with Brazilians than compatriots or other migrants. The main reasons they give for that is that they naturally need to interact with Brazilian staff when accessing services, looking for jobs and purchasing things outside, as well as the Brazilian staff of CRAI and Missão Paz who coordinate their activities and provide them with daily support. Many participants have also mentioned the importance of interacting with Brazilians to practise Portuguese, to learn more about their culture, and to get more informed about the local market. As L.L.* indicates:

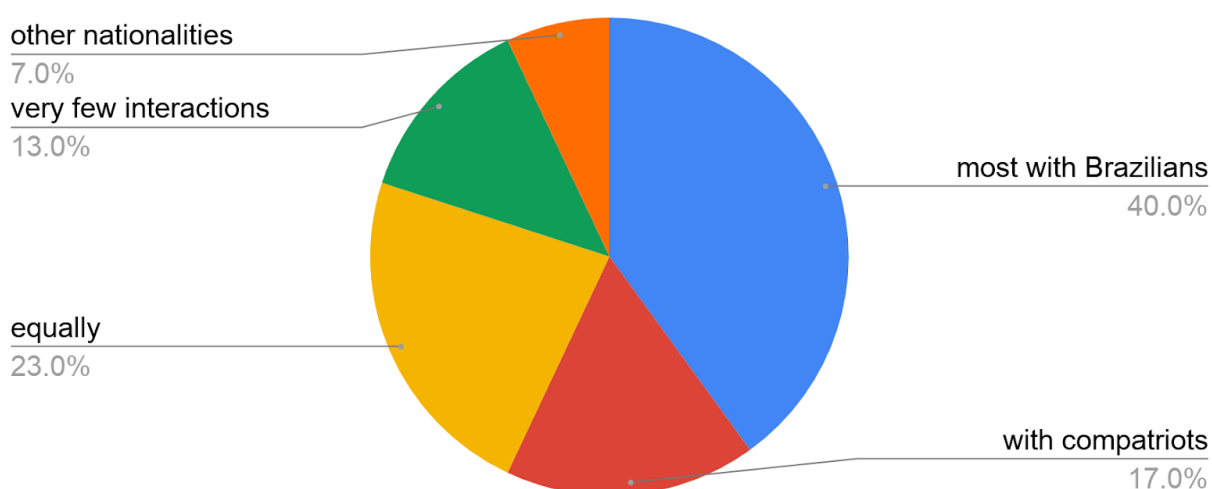
"When I see a person from Haiti I go chat a bit, it is good for my heart to feel a bit closer to home for some minutes. But then there is not a lot I can do to help this person neither a lot she can do for me, since we are both in difficulty here. So I think staying in touch with Brazilians can help more

because they might know a person needing someone to work, or they can translate something for you that might help you find an opportunity, they know more people who can actually help you get out of the difficulty. (...) It is not just about having friends to have a good time, but also having supporters for you to build a decent life in the long term” - L.L.

In the sequence, 23% declare they interact with similar frequency with Brazilians and compatriots, since they normally chat both with Brazilian staff and with co-residents of CRAI and Missão Paz during meals and common activities (similar reasons were mentioned by the 7% declaring to interact more with other nationalities). There were also 17% declaring to interact more often with compatriots, which happens mainly with the nationalities with considerably large groups in the city - such as Bolivians, Haitians and Nigerians. Within this group, a frequently mentioned reason for talking mostly with compatriots was that they still did not know enough Portuguese to interact more with Brazilians as they wished.

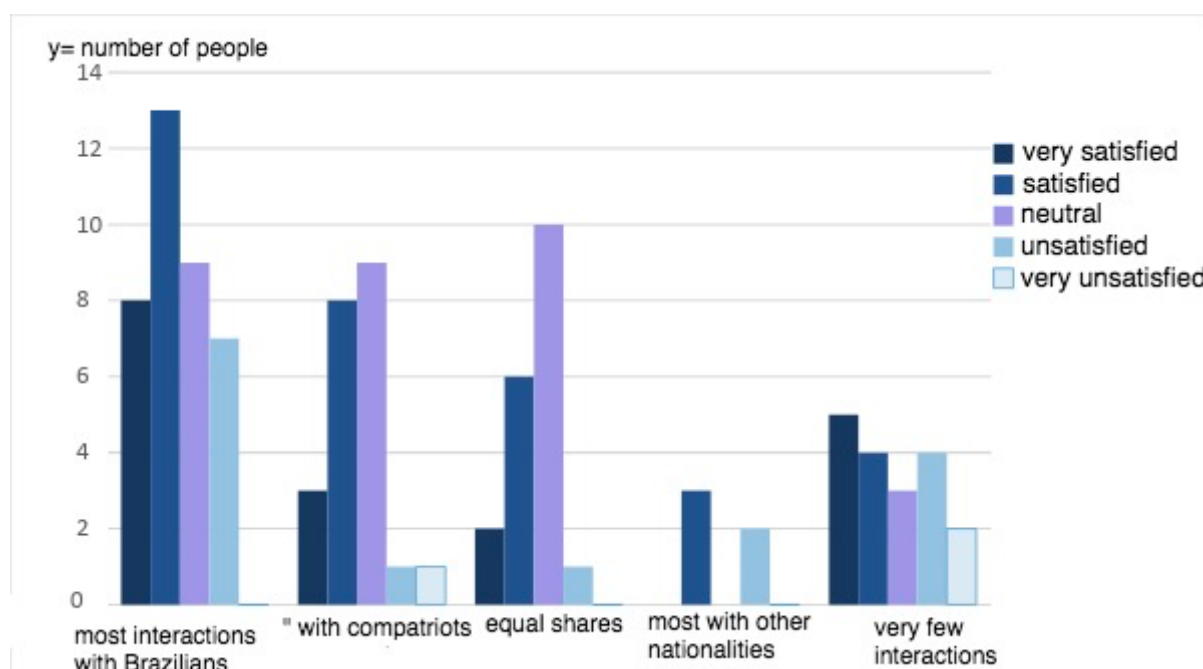
Finally, a significant share of 13% declared to have almost no social interactions, mostly relating it to linguistic and cultural estrangement. This isolation and loneliness can hinder not only integration but also personal mental health, as Cuche (2009) underlines. CRAI and Missão Paz provide psychological assistance especially for those with previous traumatic experience and for newly arrived residents. To take deeper care in this dimension, the administrations of the two centres aim to include a further and continuous psychological follow-up during the entire period spent in their accommodation.

Figure X - Most frequent interactions in Brazil:



The following figure illustrates how these social interactions have varied according to participants' marks to their satisfaction about their lives in Brazil. Still, it is not assumed that there would be a causality between these variables of most frequent interactions and general satisfaction with life, since marks for satisfaction depend on multiple other factors, and the interactions with certain groups might be only circumstantial and punctual.

Figure Y – Satisfaction with own life in Brazil according to most frequent interactions:



The questionnaire also asked which kind of interactions interviewees believed to help the most in the settlement process. For 64% of participants, interactions with Brazilians would be more helpful. Among the most mentioned reasons, there were Brazilians' capacity to indicate jobs (57%); to teach local habits (72%); to teach Portuguese (55%); and to indicate activities and venues in São Paulo (25%). Only 2% believed that interacting with compatriots living in Brazil would be more helpful for the settlement process because of their more sensitive solidarity. For 34% both interactions would help equally. This latter group identified as potential usefulness in interacting with Brazilians the same as those mentioned previously (job indications, language practice, etc.). The potential benefits they identify in interactions with compatriots are: indicating tips specific for migrants; sharing aspirations and struggles as a migrant from similar background; having cultural similarities; having a common language; and smoothing homesickness about the country of origin. Such findings reveal different tendencies from similar studies with migrants facing vulnerability in contexts in the global North, which have shown a more significant interaction and importance of

networks with compatriots (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001; Hodgett & Clark, 2011; Petit, 2007). This could relate to the fact that the interviewees of this sample were living in a charity housing, which can be linked to a lack of previous networks in Sao Paulo that could have helped them with accommodation and basic support. Thus, it could be the case that these individuals in particular would have a weaker tie with networks than migrants outside a charity housing.

When asked if they feel integrated in Brazil, 78% answered 'yes' and only 8% 'no'. The rest responding 'medium' (14%) justify it mainly saying that it is too early to have a proper feeling about their integration, or because the relations they had until then were mainly for basic needs and bureaucracies, so not profound enough to give an image about further integration. Among those responding 'medium' and those 8% declaring 'not integrated' the most mentioned reasons (cited by almost all responding 'not' or 'medium') are lack of Portuguese and not having a job. Most of them declared that working would make them feel like they were participating more actively in that new host society. These findings concurred with the similar studies just mentioned above, which have also revealed the importance of working and mastering the local language for a deeper sense of inclusion in the host community. Still, in these studies the general feelings of integration were much weaker than in this fieldwork, which presented surprisingly high satisfactions, probably related to the special care and attention they were receiving as residents of the charities where interviews were held. Comments on satisfaction were also frequently associated with the values of cultural openness and identity flexibility that participants would associate with Brazil, reinforcing the previous explanations.

All these findings have reinforced the importance of cultural liberty in social interactions, and the particular stimulation that the Brazilian context presents for migrants in this direction. The possibility to interact with several groups beyond national or ethnic belongings is crucial to pursue a true sense of multiculturalism that respects individual liberties to operate one's identities. As explained in the contextualisation of migration in Brazil in chapter 2, the treatment of diversity developed in the country has allowed more flexibility in this direction, permitting migrant-descendants to interact through multiple channels - a tendency that seems to be still present for current migrants and strongly valued by them. Therefore, the particular approach to diversity held in Brazil might bring fruitful insights to rethink multiculturalism tendencies worldwide, as further explored below.

Contributions from the Brazilian case for international discussions on multiculturalism

Promoting equality and tolerance among different groups is of central importance especially in countries with deep social inequality like Brazil. Still, reinforcing groups' particularities is not necessarily the only way to promote this tolerance – since this presumes a homogeneity inside each group that is not always confirmed in reality. This has been the case in several contexts of wealthy European nations. In periods when the multiculturalist line was dominant in the Netherlands, Germany and England, their Ministries of Education invested heavily in teacher training following this cosmopolitan perspective (Castles, 2014) - mainly based in an understanding of cultures of majorities and minorities coexisting in a mosaic without mutual influences, as criticised by Sen (2006). Nonetheless, everyday life in those countries shows a much more dynamic integration with majorities and even external cultures, since the cultural practices of young people are much more polyethnic than the multiculturalist discourse might consider (Sansone, 2003). Multiculturalist policies presuppose a sense of class cohesion and ethnic homogeneity within groups that does not correspond to the dynamism and hybridity of these relations in practice. This sense of syncretism is a recurrent issue in the fieldwork interviews with migrants in São Paulo. The participants frequently referred to multi-ethnic identities and practices and valued Brazil as a place promoting this possibility.

The cultural practices of migrants' descendants and ethnic minorities often present deep variety and constant mutability beyond the limits of the traditional multiculturalist definition, frequently including multi-ethnic features. Such a 'post-ethnic' tendency among these groups was already highlighted in the 90s by authors such as Taylor (1994) and Pierucci (1999), but has gained much more force in recent years since some unsuccessful consequences of multiculturalist policies are more clearly felt. Among these consequences, Sen (2006) identifies the emergence of new extremisms, as certain minorities have reacted to this cultural differentiation by radicalising their animosity against other groups. Sen worries that the dominant multiculturalist view is failing to encompass such reactions. Neither can this view sufficiently comprehend the practices in the opposite direction marked by strong mixture of cultures. Within this scenario, policy makers can boost the spaces of negotiations among cultures, following a line of hybridity as pointed out by Sen (2006), or adopting a view of ethnic borders that disregards this constant encounter.

When following the hybrid line, it is crucial to keep in mind that these cultural negotiations are not operated with equal social valuation. Boosting encounters of different cultural practices does not mean to believe that the groups operating these practices are all in equal positions in society. Thus, it is crucial to keep in mind the economic contexts and historical influences that shape the scenarios in which these encounters take place. Practices related to oppressed groups have different impacts and values than those associated with dominant groups – and although they might interact and mutually transform each other, this does not necessarily remove the social

hierarchies associated to them (Bosco, 2017). Interacting more with other cultures does not necessarily translate in enhancing socio-economic positions. Similarly, in assimilationist contexts, assimilating to the 'national identity' has proved to not necessarily translate in social ascension, as this paradigm would claim. The assimilationist myth reifies the notion of culture by stating that the success of a migrant group depends mainly on its cultural capital and knowledge about the host country's culture and habits (Steinberg, 2014). With the recent popularisation of the multiculturalist approach, there is a new reification and simplification of the notion of culture, as if the maintenance of cultural singularity would be the condition for the social ascension of an ethnic minority group. This view sees the situation as if social position depended mainly on cultural life, while so many other factors might strongly count. Additionally, this view considers the encounter between cultures as a mere conflict of two rigid blocks, while actually this encounter includes multiple and diverse negotiations among groups that are not internally homogeneous, and that might gather or separate according to the context (Cuche, 2009).

Contextualisation is a key step to understand cultural practices, as well as to understand multiculturalism itself. It is crucial to consider the context in which this concept emerges, in order to identify the mindset and circumstances that it reflects. Multiculturalism gradually emerges as a stage of a modernity process that was already underway in Western rich countries (Seyferth, 2002). In many Latin American contexts, including Brazil, multiculturalism emerged in a different way. As Quijano (1989) describes, in much of the Latin American region, historical phases of modernity seem to accumulate rather than following each other, presenting different degrees of modernity at the same time. However, the theories most used in the region refer to countries where modernity, multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism have been more gradually asserted - such as countries of northwestern Europe and the United States (Sansone, 2003). Especially in the Brazilian context, for all the historical constructions mentioned so far, the phenomena of universalism, racism, new particularisms and new citizenship often appear all together.

Although many emerging countries do not have a tradition of inter-ethnic conflict or politically organised diversity, they are expected to make their multiculturalist policies merit a place in the pantheon of the so-called modern and civilised nations (Sansone, 2003). This view overlooks the existence of potential and non-manifested ethnicities, of many people living well without manifesting ethnic sentiments on a constant basis. Brazil has a strong multicultural aspect, which is not the same thing as being multiculturalist – since 'multiculturalism' defines not a status but an ideology. Thus, it is possible to have multicultural practices without theories or multicultural awareness. As Sansone sums up, "multicultural aspects often take place autonomously, not necessarily theorising cultural traditions nor the maintenance of cultural diversity" (2003, p.550, free

translation). Following this direction, hybridity often happens in a cacophonous way, not in the intended and measurable form expected in multiculturalist lines (Pieterse, 2001).

Similarly, most multiculturalist traditions do not emphasise that ethnicity and ethnic community do not always develop together. In many cases, a sense of ethnicity develops without a community or territory (Petit, 2007). In other contexts, notions of ethnicity might be operated only sporadically; while in other cases these notions might grow when the internal cohesion of a group is in crisis (Cuche, 2009). Ethnicities are increasingly intermittent and symbolic, not necessarily associated with a single territory - and constantly relating to other identities such as age, gender or profession (Appadurai, 1996; Castels, 1997; Jenkins, 1997). Considering this scenario, ethnic cacophony (so strong in Latin America and so challenging for ethnic identities models) should be considered more universal than dominant multiculturalism imagines.

Following this direction, one can also question the universality of ethnic sentiment, since not every social group has a quantum of ethnicity to be expressed; and not all groups consider their ethnicity as a main source of identity (Poutignat, 1997; Streiff-Fenart, 1997). Ethnic identities are not always seen as immanent and natural, but as discursive processes that might emerge, change intensity or even disappear, according to the context (Fry, 2000). Considering all these factors, it does not seem appropriate to believe in a universal discourse on cultural difference or a global multiculturalism, since the meanings of this depend on how institutions and individuals perceive cultures in each context. For this reason, the largest agreement that was possible to achieve among various countries in this direction – namely, the UN's World Commission on Culture and Development of 1995, seeks tolerance of minority rights, not respect for cultural difference (Sansone, 2003).

This way, it is crucial to examine multicultural practices and multiculturalism in their context and contingency, not generalising them in universal tendencies. Identity policies should not follow a universal sense of multiculturalism, but consider the specificities of each context. In some cases, the emancipation of a subordinate ethnic group depends on its recognition and differentiation by identity politics (Castles, 2014; Sen, 2007). In other cases, emancipation can be achieved by policies touching other identities of individuals from this group – such as programmes for women, initiatives for young people of low income, projects in certain neighbourhoods, etc (Cuche, 2009). Hence, individuals should be able to access services through various groups to which they feel belonging.

In contemporary Brazil, claims based on multiculturalism often aim to request basic rights that should have been guaranteed to all citizens. Most multiculturalist claims are operated to try to acquire basic needs that policies are failing to attend, as underlined by Kymlicka (2003). Multiculturalism has been operated in Brazil as a substitute to the notion of citizenship rights - and

not as complementary to it, such as in most international contexts where multiculturalism became predominant. These multiculturalist claims are now seen as an alternative tool to fight for basic services and rights that are still not entirely accessible to the poorest groups, mostly with black ancestry (Grin, 2009). Brazil was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery (De Carvalho, 2001) - only in 1888 - and it was proclaimed as a Republic just one year after that. Hence, the Republic departed from a point in which inequality was already very severe, where liberated slaves had almost no possibility of significant social mobility – and with very few long-standing policies aimed to revert this unbalance (De Carvalho, 1989; Dos Santos, 1979). In this respect, it is important to emphasise that the term 'minority' is often used for black people in Brazil referring not to demographic minority - since they compose at least one quarter of the population (IBGE, 2008) – but as a 'symbolic' minority, owing to its lack of representation in the richest classes and in positions of power.

In such contexts where an ethnic identity coincides with economic poverty, measures of positive discrimination can bring important contributions to tackle severe inequality. Within the profit-oriented logic so dominant in Brazil, it does not seem realistic to expect the deep structural inequalities of the country to be corrected simply by market operations (Cohn, 2009). Thus, in order to provide more equal opportunities, it is still very important to promote measures for compensating social inequalities, as well as reparatory actions to tackle historic racism. Some lessons learned by the multiculturalist approach can be helpful in this direction, such as the tolerance for differences and anti-racist education. As put by Portes and DeWind: “The question is not how to promote difference but how to assimilate them institutionally, how to integrate these differences and at the same time give them equal recognition” (2007, p.430). In this sense, governments are challenged to preserve the public sphere from private interests and to promote a common civic culture among natives and migrants, as well as among different social classes and ethnic groups.

Nevertheless, the efforts in this direction should keep Brazilian specificities in mind, not applying standard models such as the multiculturalist lines dominant in other contexts. Respecting such particularities can avoid the effect observed in certain programmes in France and the USA that have strengthened the ethnic divisions that they intended to combat, precisely by administratively constructing racial categories (Doytcheva, 2005). Thus, policies must take into consideration the classifications already used by the groups themselves, as suggested by Sen and indicated in the second chapter. This includes understanding that individuals might consider themselves as belonging to various groups, depending on the context concerned – a circumstance frequently observed among the migrants interviewed in the fieldwork. Individuals might vary their classifications or even consider themselves as belonging to more than one ethnic group, as

observed in several editions of the national census in Brazil (IBGE, 2008; 2010). In the 2008 edition, for instance, 32% of the participants considered themselves as both indigenous and black; 21% as both brown and white; 10% as both white and black; and many other cases with combined answers (IBGE, 2008). Such examples show that the variations of belongings and identities might escape the mosaic of ethnic groups expected in the classic multiculturalist approach, as Sen underlined.

Since the very concept of multiculturalism is so different in Brazil when compared to traditional multiculturalist approaches, the Brazilian context can be a fruitful space for avoiding the plural mosaic of isolated cultures criticised by Sen in Britain's current approach to diversity (2006). In this direction, it is not appropriate to apply generalised formulas to understand multiculturalism worldwide - instead, it is crucial to keep in mind the specificities, expectations and values of the groups and individuals concerned, which will naturally vary in each context. This debate on new ideas of identity is one of the main novel aspects presented by this thesis' fieldwork, aiming to collaborate to discussions in this direction.

Some of the findings of this fieldwork reinforce the results of other migration studies, especially in terms of drives for migration, with multiple motivations involving abstract expectations related not only to economic gains but also to intangible dimensions related to broader opportunities. Other findings of this fieldwork bring novel aspects, such as the ideas of multiple identities constantly negotiated by migrants themselves according to different circumstances, as explained throughout this chapter. Another novel aspect is the idea of agency in migration contexts not only in its dimension of action to change one's life, but also as reaction to circumstances and adaptation to new environments, as explained in previous chapters, with interviewees demonstrating these forms of agency even with external constraints or limited resources. Additionally, another new contribution relates to the valuing not only of the outcomes of migration but of the very possibility to migrate, with interviewees strongly praising the action of migrating as an act of freedom per se. Finally, another novel finding of the thesis is the validation of migration choices after having migrated, with many participants valuing the destination chosen as if it had always been their ideal choice. Considering all the fieldwork findings explained until here, the next chapter discusses ways to advance policy prospects for migration in a human-centred perspective.

CHAPTER 8

POLICY PROSPECTS IN A HUMAN-CENTRED FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the challenges of moving from a capability analysis towards policies that keep a human-centred perspective. It examines how policies could tackle key difficulties faced by migrants to pursue what they consider a good life. A central discussion in capability studies is how to measure capabilities and to translate this information into policy advice, since Sen's line of the CA refuses to indicate formal prescriptions (Comim, Qizilbash & Alkire, 2008). As Comim (2015, p.2) explains, "It is clear that given Sen's pluralism, he wishes to avoid imposing specific recommendations how societies should establish their priorities and define their social policies". However, these same authors recognise (2008, p. xxiv) that the approach did bring important inputs for policy making, since it changed the language in discussions of poverty and life quality, also highlighting new dimensions to be considered (Sen, 1984, 1990, 1999). Moreover, Sen (2011) underlines that it is possible to increase the freedom and agency of individuals by public action and investments of groups, states or institutions. The present chapter brings efforts in this direction, indicating how successful initiatives from Brazil and abroad can contribute to build a more human-centred approach to migration, not only in this country but also in global terms. Some of this chapter's reflections were also published in my report to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in the last year of this PhD, officially proposed to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice to guide the implementation of the New Migration Law explained in previous chapters. Still, the relevance of these discussions is not limited to the Brazilian scenario, since they bring useful insights for rethinking migration in more human-centred terms in multiple contexts.

The chapter examines how governments can operate policies in this human-centred direction, reinforcing that NGOs, migrants' associations, private companies and academia should also engage in this joint effort. The main focus will be on initiatives related to social inclusion and labour inclusion, since this was the main priority observed in the thesis' fieldwork. However, this labour dimension is considered here as means for a broader inclusion in social, economic and cultural terms, not simply being guided by the market demands of the receiving place, but prioritising the opportunities for migrants to pursue what they consider a good life. Thus, the effort here is to enhance migrants' personal development and agency, and not simply to boost potential gains for the economy of the host county (such as discussed in the initial chapter). Following the arguments of the first chapter, it is important to consider not only the impacts of migration on macro structures of the labour market, but especially on micro dimensions of the migrant's values and expectations – in which the Capability Approach seems so fruitful.

8.0 - Main deprivations and difficulties observed

Considering the findings of the previous chapters addressing the fieldwork, it is possible to identify the main deprivations that hinder the achievement of the things that interviewees have reasons to value. Although different individuals have different deprivations, some deprivations are common to a vast majority of the group, or might affect more directly the capability to pursue what they consider a good life.

The deprivations that seem to concern these migrants the most are those hindering a job placement, which include difficulties in several domains. The most basic deprivation in this domain is the weak knowledge of the local language, which brings further difficulties in spheres depending on communication - such as regularisation of one's status in Brazil, access to basic services and an initial interaction with locals. Migrants face difficulties to communicate with staff in public services because only very rarely can this staff speak good English or any other language besides Portuguese. It is also challenging for many migrants to find a job when they still do not feel comfortable with the local language. Even in technical sectors that do not demand deep communication, learning the language is important to search for opportunities and to be updated about vacancies.

Although the provision of free Portuguese courses is praised by all interviewees, the few classes during the week and the short duration of the modules seem to be insufficient for reaching a suitable level to find jobs just a few months after arriving. Additionally, in some of the external courses which partner up with CRAI and Missão Paz, students are mixed without considering their native language - so speakers of languages very different to Portuguese find it hard to catch up, and those speaking Latin languages often become bored. New incomers are also constantly arriving at the classes, challenging the teaching progression with a constant need for recapitulations. Considering these points, Missão Paz has only recently divided classes according to the native language, and CRAI is indicating external courses for residents who might be in a level more advanced than the basic course provided there. Overall, it is important for courses to teach not only formal grammar, but mainly the language needs related to daily situations, and to provide external activities for stimulating these migrants to interact with locals. Moreover, staff working with public services should be given more preparation to assist migrant users, receiving basic English courses and awareness sessions to be more sensitive to this public specific need.

Another key deprivation identified relates to migrants' documentation. Brazil has very few visa categories, and does not have a modality applicable for migrants coming without contracts for work or studies. With this lack of options to regularise their situation, many migrants see in the asylum application an alternative to remain documented for the first months, as explained in

previous chapters. Since the judging committee is very small, applicants need to wait for several months - even years - for their request to be examined. In this domain, another frequent complaint is that the asylum protocol is a very simple sheet of paper with an amateur appearance that employers often do not recognise as valid document.

Additionally, job applications often require certifications that migrants in vulnerability or asylum seekers might not be able to provide, either because they could not bring it in their constrained travels, or because their educational degree has no direct equivalent in Brazil. In this domain, the excessive bureaucracy for the validation of educational certificates was another frequent complaint. Several migrants interviewed faced difficulties to validate their previous studies to continue to work in their area, since processes are often too long and expensive, as well as very demanding – requiring disciplines and credits to be too similar to the Brazilian curriculum even for countries with a very different educational system. Thus, it is important to make validation processes less expensive and bureaucratic, as well as enhance the appearance of the asylum protocol and raise awareness among employers about the legitimacy of this document.

Constraints on transport and logistics were also pointed as a relevant challenge. Many migrants complain about living too far from the areas with more services, leisure or job offers, or not having enough money for the transport to go to courses or to their first weeks in a job - sometimes not even for attending a job interview. In this sphere, it could be useful to provide a fee-waiver permission for public transport at least for the initial months, allowing the migrant to attend courses and interviews fully. NGOs providing support for migrants in São Paulo, such as Caritas and Adus, already have some initiatives to grant transport vouchers for the individuals most in need. São Paulo city also has a similar programme in its public transport system providing a fee-waiver for groups in serious vulnerability, so this could start to include migrants that prove to have such deprivation - following the tendencies of other public services in Brazil that can be accessed by nationals and non-nationals alike, as previous chapters have explained. In a related domain, it would also be important to raise awareness about opportunities in nearby cities or in other capitals of the country, which could offer lower costs and easier logistics. A quarter of the sample has mentioned some interest to know more about courses, jobs and opportunities in other cities. This would require more interaction among the State administrations of different cities, which dialogues with one of the core topics to be further explored in the policies recommendations.

Finally, Chapter 6 has underlined the importance to guarantee basic socio-economic rights regardless of nationality criteria, as Sassen, Benhabib, Nussbaum and Sen argue. Following this argument, every human being would be entitled to be respected in any destination - not as a matter of philanthropy, but as a right. This idea dialogues with the notion of right to hospitality indicated in

Kant's *ius cosmopolitanum* (1992) - a view that inspired both Benhabib (2008) and Sen (2009). Thus, it is important to formalise and officialise the provision of a minimum hospitality and basic socio-economic support, since it is a right to which migrants are entitled, and not simply an act of benevolence. Brazil presents a particularly propitious moment to act in this respect, since the current implementation of the New Migration Law is a chance to formalise in policies the assistance that so far has been done mainly by charities. The fieldwork has shown the importance of this formalisation to reinforce that this support is not an act of philanthropy, but a matter of rights. The present chapter is an effort in this direction, recommending concrete policies based on the fieldwork findings and conceptual reflections developed until here.

8.1 - Towards a human-centred framework for migration

The prevailing approach to migratory policies reflects a neoliberal governance of migration focused on its impacts for the economies of destination, linking migrants' rights and freedom to their employability in the receiving market, as indicated in the first chapter (De Haas, 2011; Frediani, 2015). In this direction, the current system establishes a 'global hierarchy of mobility', in which the governance of migration is strongly selective according to a security and market-based approach, as Oliveri (2015) remarks. Some authors recommending migration policies reinforce this tendency, focusing on the costs and benefits of migration from the perspective of the hosting country's interests (Beine, Docquier & Rapoport, 2007; Joppke & Morawska, 2003).

Such tendency was also noticeable in some key policies held in the last decade in Brazil, with an increase in visa concessions especially for migrant workers in sectors requiring specific qualifications (Policia Federal, 2017). In order to smooth this tendency, most migrant associations in the country have been pushing for a more rights-based approach that would not be so linked to market demands, but above all to the protection of migrants' fundamental rights (CRAI, 2015). This includes guaranteeing regularised channels for the existing migratory flows, since this allows a further inclusion in the settlement process, both in employment and social terms. These migrants' associations have also reinforced the need to act beyond the legal level of documentation, investing in the preparation and educational inclusion of these migrants through more training courses. These entities have been actively involved in the elaboration and approval of settlement agreements, especially with neighbouring countries, as well as in the negotiation of amnesties at the national level (CRAI, 2016). In the municipal and state levels, these migrants' organisations had important achievements too, such as guaranteeing access to public education for migrants' children in São Paulo, including undocumented migrants. They also negotiated with the Health Secretary of São Paulo state to guarantee that public hospitals would no longer request a proof of address for migrant users, since many of them might not be in a fixed accommodation in the initial

months (CRAI, 2016). With such achievements, these migrants' associations have been attributing a more active role to migrants, contributing for them to be seen not simply as receivers of welfare but as political agents.

Following these moves, it is important to analyse migration beyond market demands, focusing more on migrants' individual protagonism. Unlike goods or capital circulating in the global system, migrants are human beings naturally demanding rights, as discussed in previous chapters. Such a demand is particularly legitimate under the aegis of the laws of liberal states that provide migrants a measure of due process and equal protection (Benhabib, 2009). Thus, it is crucial for migration policies to pay more attention to this human side.

The Capability Approach can be a suitable guideline in this direction, as the previous chapters have demonstrated. Policies following a capability perspective would pursue development not merely as economic growth and market demands, but as a process considering the expectations of the individuals involved and the expansion of the opportunities they have to pursue what they have reasons to value, as explained throughout this thesis. In this sense, the policy guidelines suggested in the present chapter focus on stimulating the active role of migrants, their labour inclusion according to due rights protection, and their broader social integration.

In this domain, a particular challenge in Brazil's context is that the provision of basic support is still done mainly by charities, often being seen as a benevolent act and not a right of these migrants, as stated above. This chapter underlines the importance to build official and solid policies in the migration field in Brazil, so that the inclusion of migrants would not depend on the charity sector, or solely in the market, but would also have the support of policy efforts. This does not mean that the State would carry the whole burden alone, but that the State would build a minimum structure to strengthen its relations with the charity and private sectors, so they can act in collaboration.

For this pursuit, it is necessary to act not only in the management of borders or documentation bureaucracies, but in several sectors that relate to a broader inclusion of the migrant. As Sen underlines, "the displaced people cannot easily find new jobs by entering into new enterprises linked to the global economy if they happen to be illiterate and unable to read instructions and follow the new demands of quality control, or if they are burdened by illnesses that impair their productivity and mobility. With such handicaps, they can get the sticks of the global economy without tasting the carrots." (2015, p.83). Therefore, efforts to implement migration policies in a human-centred perspective include enhancing not simply the processes for migrants' reception, but the broader facilities for education, healthcare and welfare protections.

Policy proposals for migration issues could concentrate in several other aspects with undeniable importance – for instance, provision of basic needs, procedures for initial reception, access to services, sociocultural integration, health care, education support (such as done by recent studies: UNHCR, 2015a; UNHCR, 2017; FGV, 2015; IPEA/Pensando o Direito, 2015). However, since the individuals addressed in this thesis have underlined labour inclusion to be a priority, this was the focus chosen here. By underlining the expectations and values of the individuals concerned, the present chapter is in line with the main recommendations of the Capability Approach. Moreover, the present chapter emphasises how this labour inclusion can relate to the promotion of local development, reinforcing the agency aspect and the participation of individuals in their own development - elements underlined throughout the thesis. It deals with government articulation and private sector participation as means to enhance the labour inclusion and promotion of development. In this direction, labour inclusion can also contribute to the dimension of agency so emphasised in the Capability Approach, as discussed in Chapter 2, since decent and protected labour would bring a minimum economic stability that is crucial to enable individuals to activate their capabilities. Previous chapters have indicated how appropriate economic arrangements can influence these personal liberties.

In order to follow a more rights-based approach, policies should consider migration beyond its demographic impacts and statistical relevance, remembering that it is a process involving human beings with complex and diverse trajectories and expectations. That means addressing migration not as a matter of surveillance and management, but of inclusion and opportunities. It presumes going beyond purely statistical perspectives or analysis of the flux trends. This humanised framework includes issues linked to the daily adaptation of migrants, addressing themes like decentralisation, cultural estrangement and integration. Nevertheless, this potential has not been well explored among Brazilian scholars (Campos, 2015), so this chapter is an effort in this direction.

Many of the policies proposed would strongly rely on actions in the local dimension, depending on the engagement of actors in the spheres of the municipality and state. This way, the recommendations concern both local and national levels. In the local sphere, there are recommendations of immediate initiatives that the municipality could implement, addressing specific demands that do not require larger changes in the country's legislation. On the national scale, there are recommendations to promote larger reforms and allocate formal resources for the migration issue. The idea is to suggest initiatives to boost the inclusion and development of migrants through multiple channels and not uniquely through services aimed at their ethnic or national group, as defended in Chapter 7 addressing identities. Recommendations are organised in

three main domains: measures for reinforcing the active role of migrants; for boosting their labour inclusion; and for improving policy coordination for migrants' inclusion.

8.2a - Reinforcing the active role of migrants

As explained in the first chapter, there are several ways in which migrants can relate to development processes - both contributing to it and benefiting from its outcomes. The active role and the recipient role often happen simultaneously, since the migrant might benefit from enhanced life quality and shared economic growth as well as contribute to its continuity (IOM, 2017). Thus, it is important to highlight the active role of vulnerable migrants in development, in order to weaken the stigma of passive recipients of policies or mere exploiters of public services (Preibisch, Dodd & Su, 2016). To break this stereotype, it is necessary to emphasise the cultural, social and economic benefits that migration brings – valuing and promoting the image of migrants not simply as a passive and homogeneous workforce, but as investors, colleagues and entrepreneurs who can assume active roles to enhance society. The suggestions below support this, proposing initiatives that encourage the protagonism of migrants in active participation and transformation of their surroundings.

Participation in community councils

An issue that emerged among migrants in the fieldwork was the need to communicate more directly with the government and other key actors of the society. A suggestion to advance in this direction is stimulating the participation of migrants in councils, community groups, unions and other civil movements, enabling them to join relevant activities and decisions of the community life. This is one of the steps to promote more participation of migrants in local development in political terms.

The administration of migration matters in Brazil functions in a federative model where the national government, the regional states and the municipalities work together. Considering this structure, the national government can use its inductive power through specific sectoral policies to boost the participation of migrants in local organisations. For instance, the Ministry of Social Development in partnership with the Ministry of Cities can invest in programmes that encourage community associations and empower their members. This measure should stimulate migrants' participation in community groups beyond their nationality ties, following the plural multiculturalist lines indicated in the previous chapter. This way, these individuals can interact with other groups and have their demands considered by the State through different channels, according to the topic and context.

Local governments could stimulate this participation through two main ways. One would be to raise awareness among migrants' associations and stimulate their partnership with other groups on demands that relate to them. This could encourage these migrants to contextualise their situation and understand the deprivations and constraints of their broader surroundings. Another way would be to stimulate community councils to invite more migrants to participate in their activities, so these migrants could then act through a channel with closer contact with the State, as well as become familiar with the standards of planning, meetings and negotiations of the routine of a formal council. It would also be useful to combine this with a more attractive and playful method for meetings, so migrants would feel more stimulated to join this environment regularly. This way, they would feel more welcome to share ideas and interact with national citizens in the councils, which would also promote empathy among locals, considering migrants in equal terms and being more sensitive to their contexts. Sen (2011) and Nussbaum (2013) have underlined the importance of this practice of empathy, stimulating citizens to put themselves into the situations of minorities and excluded groups.

Improving conditions for migrants' autonomous work

Another constraint emphasised in the fieldwork was the difficulty in finding regular jobs and the instability of autonomous work. To improve this scenario, a first step should be to map the main regions with informal works done by migrants and identify their main difficulties. The most important point in this direction is to treat this situation with a non-criminalising approach, which can cause fear among migrants in this situation instead of approximating them and trying to find non-hostile solutions (Frediani, 2015). Therefore, the municipal secretaries for labour issues should work on building alternatives for regularisation. This requires establishing a trustful relationship with workers, so they can explain their situation in detail for the secretary's agents to come up with potential means for regularising. Projects in this direction count with the expertise accumulated in formalisation projects already undertaken in several municipalities around the country to regularise Brazilian street vendors in general.

Besides broadening the channels for regularisation, another step to mitigate the stigma of undocumented migrants is to hold awareness campaigns that value migrants' contributions to society. Successful initiatives in this direction have been increasing in Brazil, such as the action of the NGO Migraflif, where migrants are paid to give workshops and organise fairs and cultural events where they share their experiences with the local public. During this process, Migraflif also offers support for migrants' personal projects, offering consultancy services, entrepreneurship activities, public speech training and strengthening of professional networks. More than 100,000 Brazilians have taken part in Migraflif activities and 70 migrants joined the fixed team giving the

courses, spread among São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and Brasília (Migraflif, 2017). The initiative now counts the UNHCR, Google and SEBRAE (Brazilian Service for Assistance to Micro Enterprises) as formal partners, also being part of the United Nations' Global Pact and winning the Global Business and Interfaith Peace Award in 2016. Government initiatives in this regard should make use of the expertise accumulated by projects like this when implementing similar actions for long-term policies or broadening existing projects.

Another successful initiative in this direction happened with the regularisation of the traditional Bolivian fair in Coimbra Street in São Paulo. The Secretariat of Human Rights and Citizenship of São Paulo Municipality regularised the fair in 2014, as it was operating informally until that. Since 2003, the fair gathered every weekend with several Bolivian handicrafts and foods, as well as stands offering remittances services - being an important part of that community's life. The Secretariat has also recognised the fair as a cultural heritage of the city, as well as renovated its infrastructure with new lights and stalls (Migramundo, 2014). It has also enhanced electrical wiring, painted the main buildings, reinforced guard security and defined a fixed schedule for operation within the city's week calendar. Bolivians' associations were leading the plan and directly negotiating with the city council. The improvements have influenced not only the migrants working in the fair, but the neighbourhood as whole. Additionally, the initiative reflected on the relations of local community with migrants, since locals have noticed the improvements led by this migrant group in the area. Thus, such an action can also contribute to weaken xenophobic behaviour among nationals, reinforcing a positive portrait of the migrant groups.

Stimulating entrepreneurship among migrants

Another means to encourage migrants' impacts on local development is to stimulate entrepreneurship among them. As a first step, the city council could hold a large survey among migrants who are already entrepreneurs and those who demonstrate interest to become entrepreneurs. Following a capability framework, this process should consider migrants' own values and expectations, not presuming what their preferences are. For this aim, the city council could partner up with channels that are already closer to the migrants (such as ground-based associations and related NGOs) so these partners can hold the surveys in a more familiar tone. These partners would identify the migrants willing to start their own businesses and pre-select the most viable ideas, introducing them to workshops and consultancy support. In terms of legal advice for starting a small business, the city council can invite private law firms and university services to provide volunteer capacitation in this domain. It could broaden the initiatives in this field that already exist in São Paulo, such as the ones held by University of São Paulo and Mackenzie, and the private law firm Mattos Filho. Public-private partnerships can also offer training for management

and finances skills, expanding the actions already existent (but still sporadic) with SEBRAE and SESC (Social Service of Commerce).

Some initiatives have been advancing in this direction such as Sergio Vieira de Mello Chair, promoting meetings, partnerships and awareness campaigns between universities and services supporting migrants in vulnerability. The 18 affiliated universities provide volunteer services for migrants held by their students, including legal advice, psychological assistance, dental care and Portuguese classes. The Chair has also promoted 60 courses about asylum and migration rights for more than 3,000 students. Moreover, it holds 10 research groups and promotes an annual seminar to present their work. More recent events have precisely emphasised the necessity of business advice for supporting migrants who would wish to start small businesses. Thus, city council initiatives in this sphere would count with this whole network and expertise, as well as the will to focus on the entrepreneurship sector.

A key partner in this effort would be SEBRAE , since it already has the expertise of similar courses in the entrepreneurship domain. A crucial step would also be to assure banking services and access to credit for these migrants, so they can rely on this initial capital. Ensuring financial rights is a strong priority, since this enables the accomplishment of other rights, such as affording food, housing, transport and other basic goods with a minimum security. The last couple of years saw a progress in this domain, with the Ministry of Justice requiring banks to accept the protocol of asylum request as a valid document for opening an account. ´

Another successful initiative in this direction is the project Empowering Refugees (a cooperation between the UN Global Pact, UN Women, Cáritas São Paulo, PARR and Foxtime agency), which inspires similar actions for migrants in general and beyond São Paulo city. The project offered consulting sessions and professional training to 33 refugee women in São Paulo in 2015, succeeding to provide jobs to a third of them. In order to stimulate new networks and raise awareness in the private sector, the project's closing event involved with 120 employers of leading companies in Brazil (UNHCR, 2017). This encounter resulted in a workshop promoted by Renner Institute (from the large fashion company Renner) and a programme for business acceleration organised by the Women's Consulate of Whirlpool (UNHCR, 2017).

Overall, all these government initiatives must keep in mind the importance to partner up with migrants' associations, so they can directly participate and lead these activities. This effort is in line with the capability framework by valuing the aspect of agency of the individuals involved, considering their own terms and expectations. Associations such as Si, Yo Puedo (Yes, I Can), África do Coração (Africa from the Heart) e Visto Permanente (Permanent Visa) have developed activities around several of the topics indicated above, so the government initiatives should not act

in parallel to them, but should partner with them, learning from their knowledge accumulated over the years. This way, migrants are seen not merely as beneficiaries of development projects, but also promoters of this development in their surroundings.

8.2b – Boosting the labour inclusion of migrants

Most interviewees indicated labour inclusion as a first priority, considering it a core step to assure minimum stability and autonomy in the new hosting community. It might also influence their access to basic goods, as many banks require a fixed income to open an account and accommodation deals also request this income for formalising contracts. In this sense, planning the inclusion of migrants in the labour market is important to assure due legal protection and stability for their full social incorporation. The suggestions below indicate measures in this respect, proposing several strategies to boost the labour inclusion of migrants in vulnerability as means for promoting their access to broader opportunities.

Digital platforms for vacancy advertisement and applications

The Ministry of Labour could partner up with NGOs and universities to maintain digital platforms for advertising vacancies suitable for migrants and facilitating their application. This Ministry could partner up with initiatives that already develop these services and help them to broaden their scope. An example of such work is PARR - Program of Support and Reallocation of Refugees, a partnership between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the company for migration consultancy EMDOC. The PARR system holds a database of migrants in vulnerability and refugees' CVs, as well as communication channels with employers. This initiative could mobilise the networks already existent that would be interested in this issue, such as the 700 Brazilian companies who have signed the UN Global Pact. A similar initiative is the network Help, a platform designed by the UNHCR in partnership with Samsung to stimulate the connection of refugees and migrants facing vulnerability with leading companies.

An important aspect to keep in mind with this sort of initiatives is the particular need of constant update, in order to maintain it to appeal to new users and employers. Besides the CV database, the system should offer informative and cultural content to make the page more dynamic and attractive. It could include a space where employers and migrant employees can share their experiences and tell their stories – this could help to stimulate a positive image. Moreover, the

companies that actually hire a migrant through the system could also be rewarded with advertising space on the platform.

Special guidance for job applications

Besides the channels between employers and migrant candidates, it is also important to prepare vulnerable migrants for labour inclusion, promoting vocational support and especially raising awareness about their rights according to Brazilian law. The Ministry of Labour could broaden the actions of migrants' associations that already exist in this domain, but are still timid or lacking funds. 'Si, yo puedo', for instance, is an association of Latin American migrants that has been hosting some initiatives in this sphere. In partnership with Aliança Empreendedorora (Entrepreneurship Alliance) and Brazil Foundation, the association promoted training to Bolivian micro-entrepreneurs in the textile industry to develop their business and to learn about their labour rights in this sector, which often presents unacceptable conditions of exploitation (Aliança Empreendedorora, 2015).

A project in this domain should be in constant touch with migrants associations, in order to invite their members to participate and spread the word to others. The action must also involve other relevant actors of the field, such as the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services, to help with awareness campaigns among employers on behalf of hiring migrants. They could encourage employers to hire this group through tax incentives and certifications. An important step in this direction is to require companies to prepare their work environment to welcome migrants. This would involve training staff about related legal aspects, as well as about tolerance for cultural diversity. Similar studies in other countries, such as Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, and Park (2005) and Calvillo, Clark, Ballantyne et al. (2009) have already underlined the importance of sensitive and trained staff in public services often dealing with migrants, and include this training from graduate school preparing for such areas of work. Such action could benefit from the know-how of existing projects for general employment search, such as CATs (Support Centre for Workers) in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. CAT-Luz in São Paulo has started to offer specific guidance to migrants seeking employment. The service includes guidance in four different languages to optimise their job search and tips for interviews.

Many migrants underlined the difficulty of covering transportation related to work issues, such as to distribute their CVs, search for vacancies in person, and to attend job interviews, as well as to arrange the related documentation in the government services dealing with this. Initiatives such as Caritas, Migraflit and Adus provide specific aid for transportation in this initial phase, but there is still the need for a long-term and official support in this sense – which only transport authorities could provide, such as SP Trans in São Paulo's city council. This transport authority could

offer a fee waiver card to migrants who prove to be in severe hardship in this domain, which they could use during their first months. It could use a similar system to the cards already provided to some elderly or handicapped users. This would facilitate the access to services and job placement, as well as contribute to the adaptation of these migrants within the city.

Vacancies in the public sector

Besides engaging the private sector, the public sector could also employ migrants facing vulnerability in its own governmental activities. This effort, however, would be less simple, since it would require a legal reform allowing non-nationals to access jobs in the public sector. The Brazilian Constitution (Article 37 II) states that working positions in the public sector are accessible to every Brazilian who fills the law requirements in question, as well as to non-nationals when required by law according to each case. Thus, to allow the admission of non-nationals in these services, it is necessary to propose a new law regulating this specific issue. The Ministry of Justice could propose a law regulating such admission to all public services in all levels (national, regional and municipal). In the meantime, public (State-run) universities in Brazil have established a regulation to permit the admission of foreign professors, researchers and technical staff (Law 9.515/97). If a broad legislative reform would not be likely to pass, an alternative would be to include migrants in the quotas for minorities already existing in several public sectors.

Awareness among employers and incentives for new investments

Another important action for the National Employment Service would be to promote awareness campaigns among employers. The Service could start attracting companies through taxes reductions and conditional subsidies. Firstly, these campaigns must inform and update employers about the situation of migrants in Brazil, breaking myths that it is too bureaucratic to hire migrants owing to documentation reasons or cultural differences. Secondly, the campaigns should highlight how the cultural diversity brought by migrants can actually contribute to the work environment, bringing different perspectives and new working methods. As for the migrants, they would benefit by having more welcoming and tolerant environments to work and to integrate in. All policies should consider this development and wellbeing of migrants themselves too, and not only the benefits they bring to local economy, as advocated in the first chapter of this thesis. Following this guideline, it would be necessary to monitor the participating companies in order to check their compliance with decent work conditions and rights protection.

In addition to that, the government could also stimulate the private sector to invest directly in resettlement programmes. It is possible to do this by offering benefits, following similar practices already existent in other sectors – such as the tax reduction for companies investing in environmental projects in the cities of Salvador, Curitiba and Manaus or the bonus granting for these practices adopted in Goiânia and Florianópolis. This way, the onus is not put entirely on the State, but shared with other key stakeholders which might also be active in local development.

Moreover, companies could be engaged not only in employment but also in capacitation. Since capacitation is a common demand, as interviewees highlighted during the fieldwork, schemes combining part-time jobs with skills training would also be ideal. This could use the know-how and structure of programmes already working in this field with the general public. One of many examples is the Apprentice Programme of the S System (SENAI, SEBRAE, SENAC etc.) which for decades has been providing a scheme of part-time and continuous capacitation in the area in question. Other examples come from several schemes of part-time capacitation offered by partnerships of universities (FEA-USP/PR, FGV-SP/Rio, PUC-SP/Rio) with key companies in the sectors related to their courses. It would be crucial to monitor the progress of these schemes in order to ensure that they are respecting participants' learning necessities and providing decent work conditions - prioritising the personal development of participants, as the first chapter has emphasised.

Bilateral work agreements and new visa categories

In order to enforce rights compliance for the sectors most hiring migrants, the Brazilian government could also engage the governments of the countries from which most of these migrants come. These governments would be interested in ensuring that their citizens are settling in decent conditions. The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs could propose a memorandum of understanding with border countries like Bolivia and Peru to regulate employment conditions in the textile sector that has been absorbing most of these migrants in the last two decades (Freitas, 2010). It could also sign special agreements with the government of Haiti to adjust terms in the sectors of civil construction and refrigeration, which have been employing thousands of Haitians especially in the South of Brazil (Uebel, 2015). Such agreements should require stricter control of workers' legal protection, especially in sectors that have already shown irregularities in this aspect, which is precisely the case of textile, construction and refrigeration (Silva, 2006; Uebel 2015). It could also impose more cautious monitoring of physical conditions of the workplace and accommodation.

Such an action is especially important in the current case of the Brazilian border with Venezuela, considering that the political crisis in the latter has been forcing thousands of Venezuelans into the nearest Brazilian cities. The Brazilian National Council for Immigration (CNIg) has signed a decree conceding temporary residence for two years to citizens of border countries that are out of Mercosur's Residence Agreement, this includes Venezuela (de Oliveira, Jardim, Neto & Quintino, 2017). With this resolution, Venezuelans gained the right to request residence directly after the expiration of the 90-day tourist visa, and those in an undocumented situation can also apply for residence to remain regularised. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can propose further agreements on this matter, such as creating special programmes for seasonal hiring in border firms and farms, as well as providing special humanitarian visas for Venezuelan citizens facing severe vulnerability. The initial project for the New Migration Law included a special mobility for indigenous populations in border areas, but this was one of the articles vetoed by President Temer in 2017 when approving the new law - among other losses in humanitarian terms described previously.

Unsafe and unprotected transit across the borders could also be avoided by facilitating regularisation. An important step for this is the creation of new visa categories that cover seasonal and temporary settlements, as well as mobility for unforeseen humanitarian crises, avoiding the expansion of smuggler activities to operate the transit of individuals in these conditions. This would also formalise working conditions in order to avoid exploitation by Brazilian employers who fail to offer formal contracts with decent rights protection. This would require the constant monitoring of workers by the Ministry of Labour, both at the entrance in Brazil and at the exit after the contract end. Once the contract is over, approaching this migrant should be a task of the National Council for Immigration and the national police as it is in the current model (CRAI, 2015), so that the overstaying migrant would not be treated as a criminal but as an individual demanding opportunities to remain. The current police approach has a tone of intimidation that only reinforces the migrant's fear to seek regularisation, being afraid of immediate deportation. Instead of spending more on police patrol and deportation, a new approach could invest in means to stimulate regular settlement, supporting the search for new employment and the attendance of capacity training. This way, overstaying migrants would be encouraged to search for formal ways of remaining that will contribute to local development, as their taxes would be officially counting and their cultural contributions would be formally acknowledged.

Engaging municipalities and valuing their work

Besides stimulating local governments to engage in the inclusion of migrants through new projects, it is important to recognise and value the initiatives that are already proving to be

successful. A possible step would be to create the label 'Migrant-friendly City' as a recognition of cities that put in practice a specific agenda for the inclusion of migrants. A group of city councils in Europe has worked on this through the initiative Solidarity Cities, engaging European cities to work together to support the reception and integration of refugees. The UNHCR Brazil has proposed to start a similar effort in 2016 in Porto Alegre (Brazil) and Quilicura (Chile) to build this network in Latin America, but little has advanced in practical terms since then (UNHCR/ACNUR, 2017). Initiatives such as these could also include financial and symbolic prizes for cities with recognised success in projects for migrants' inclusion. Joint workshops with all cities involved would be very important, to stimulate mutual learning and exchange of ideas and experiences.

8.2c - Improving policy coordination in migration matters

Implementing all these initiatives presumes a well-coordinated effort of government levels dealing with migration issues. It is important to define clearly the responsibilities of municipal, regional and national authorities, in order to optimise their joint efforts to promote the development and inclusion of migrants in vulnerability. This coordination would assign what work each level and organism can perform best, according to their budget, personnel, structure and level of authority. It would avoid repeated work and wasting energy and money on projects that could be better implemented by another agency, or in actions that already proved to be unsuccessful in other levels. Improving the communication among the agencies is a key step in order to synchronise actions and join forces, as shown in the sections below.

Defining responsibilities and suitable partners

Since the social inclusion of migrants in vulnerability includes multiple levels of the social life, from education and health to labour and housing, from transport to culture, this means that several government agencies would better include migration matters in their agenda. For instance, a project concerning labour inclusion and capacitation of migrants would need to be operated in a joint effort from ministries and secretaries of education, labour and technology - both in national and local levels. This coordination would be crucial to stimulate more stability and longevity in the projects. It can be done by assigning a representative of migration issues in each key government agency, or even by centralising the coordination in a chief agency expected to delegate tasks in migratory matters to different agencies and monitor their outcomes in this theme.

When governments assign a specific agency to deal with migration matters (such as CNIG in Brazil), it is important for this agency to have enough authority and responsibility to coordinate all the efforts related to migration issues in the whole country. This enables a structured communication and an organised migration agenda on the national level, which in the case of Brazil is still lacking in CNIG. A central agency can help to systemise all the initiatives in migration matters, as well as to identify more clearly the roles of different government agencies in the joint effort for migrants' social development and inclusion. This helps to standardise and optimise the procedures, as well as solidify the migration issue as an official public policy.

Another way to improve governmental coordination is to create a group with different government entities related to the migration issue that would meet periodically and with equal internal authority to discuss and set projects in the area. In Brazil, a similar organisation structure has been successful since 2003 for ENCCLA (Estratégia Nacional de Combate à Corrupção e à Lavagem de Dinheiro), the National Strategy against Corruption and Money Laundering. It gathers executive, legislative and judicial entities from federal, regional and sometimes municipal levels, aiming to set anti-corruption policies in their domains. A meeting with all members occurs annually, and then working groups continue working on their parts of the plan during the year, with monthly meetings to discuss the progression (Mohallem, 2017). The actions include studies, database elaboration, law proposals, reports, proposals, policies evaluation and promotion of debates. A similar effort for migration matters would be beneficial to gather all the entities working on related issues, setting the responsibilities of each entity and stimulating this network to share the lessons learned and propose measures on which several levels would engage.

Creating and updating a common database

Enhancing government organisation related to the migratory issue would also help government to act more wisely on the reception, settlement and inclusion of migrants in different regions, since local authorities would be more in touch with the national administration. This would allow these entities to support each other in times of unforeseen influxes of migrants that would challenge the local administration of certain cities. Government entities controlling areas close to the borders could join efforts to fight smuggling and promote documentation services for new incomers. Such a joint effort could also check whether migrants arriving in a certain state would be interested in work opportunities of another region, enhancing possibilities of circulation and inclusion.

For this purpose, creating and updating the common database would be crucial, in order to identify opportunities in different regions that could suit certain migrants. This would presume the

participation of secretaries related to labour and the Ministry of Labour and Employment, as well as the general administration of the different regions and the municipal powers of cities receiving many migrants. Studies such as FGV (2015) and IPEA (2015) have pointed how Brazil still lacks data about this type of mobility in the country. The database would put together the most recent information in the issue collected by CNlg, Brazilian Federal Police, IOM, UNHCR, NGOs and other institutions, always assuring the privacy of the migrants' personal information. This database would be important not only to map arrivals and provide urgent supplies, but also to facilitate further inclusion and employment in subsequent phases, since it would also map the services and opportunities of different regions.

In all efforts in this direction, it is important to keep in mind that the promotion of migrants' circulation must take into consideration not simply the market demands of the regions but especially the migrants' prospects and wishes, following a human-centred guideline as described in the first chapter of this thesis. Such proposals for relocation should not simply aim to stimulate the move from small and poor border cities to places with more infrastructure and opportunities. Neither should these proposals aim to simply smooth overflows in the largest cities by stimulating the move to medium cities. The priority guidelines of these programmes must be the expectations of these human beings who migrated and not merely demographic demands. Above all, before mobility plans in this direction, the first cities of arrival are supposed to provide basic assistance for the new incomers, such as minimally decent shelter, basic healthcare and assistance with documentation.

Improving governmental organisation in migration issues would be especially crucial in times of migratory crises, when the receiving places might need extra staff and enhanced structure to deal with an unexpected overflow of arrivals. Actions in this direction happened in the last five years with the provision of special emergency aid to Brazilian states of the North region, to help small towns to deal with the settlement of thousands of Haitians and of Venezuelans in the last year. Emergency plans like this must always come not only with extra staff to deal with bureaucracy and documentation, but also professionals from the health sector to assist these populations in vulnerability. Accommodating these large flows also requires better preparation at key arrival points, such as more service stations in the main border cities of the North region and Guarulhos Airport in São Paulo. The staff working at these points should receive adequate training in migration and asylum matters, as well as awareness about cultural particularities and preparation in a human-centred approach to deal with vulnerable incomers in a sensitive way.

The database should gather all the data about migratory flows in Brazil in the last decades that has already been produced by government entities, qualified NGOs and international organisations, as well as key academic works containing relevant information in this matter. In

addition, the local authorities registering new incomers across the country should apply a common survey in order to start a national mapping of the current migrants. The surveys would collect relevant information for further inclusion of these individuals such as their socioeconomic status, urgent needs and background qualifications. This way, further programmes can have a more precise illustration of the particularities and main needs of the groups they will deal with, which will enable them to elaborate plans more adapted to the groups' characteristics and aspirations.

New alternatives for regularisation

Migrants who came with no formal visa for work or study can remain for only a few months in a simple category of tourist, as explained in previous chapters. Once the few months allowed for tourism are over, many of these migrants have still not found formal work to sponsor their visa, and an increasing number has been requesting asylum as a means to stay in a legal situation in Brazil – since the asylum protocol is a valid document (Lacerda e Gama, 2016). Nevertheless, many of these migrants are aware that they are not eligible for asylum according to the Cartagena 1951 Convention (UN, 1951), since they were not fleeing the direct personal, political, ethnic or religious persecutions or natural disasters such as the Convention would presume. For this reason, the National Committee for Asylum, CONARE has been facing difficulties dealing with a surplus of applications that are not eligible, which challenges the progress of eligible applications demanding urgent political protection. Services for migrants' support do alert the public about the eligibility criteria and the probabilities of rejection (CRAI, 2017), but they cannot stop anyone from applying since it is a right guaranteed to any foreigner (Article 7 of the law N° 9.474/1997). Still, applying for asylum in non-eligible terms is only provisional and is not a sustainable solution for the long-term.

The asylum strategy has emerged as this temporary plan mainly owing to the lack of visa categories in the current Brazilian system. The existing categories do not cover the situation of migrants in vulnerability who are still searching for jobs in their first months in the country. When these migrants remain undocumented, both they and the entities of the hosting community lose, since they would not be able to access basic services or formal jobs, the local authorities would not be aware about their presence and therefore would not benefit from their cultural, social and economic contributions in their full potential. Therefore, it is crucial to create new legal channels for migration that cover the situation of these individuals. A step in this direction would be the creation of more diverse categories for student visas, so that migrants in this vulnerable situation could enrol in part-time temporary courses while searching for jobs.

Another step would be creating temporary visas for part-time or autonomous jobs, so that migrants working as autonomous sellers or in freelancer services would at least be documented

and able to access services. Alternatives for the asylum strategy would not only provide more recognition and protection for migrants in vulnerability, but also strengthen the asylum institution itself, since liberating CONARE of its requests overflow would enable it to deal with other important measures in asylum matters (such as enhancing the protection actions to registered refugees, promoting new measures to deal with the issue etc.). Another important step in this process is to implement a face-to-face verification system to assure that the asylum requester is still in Brazil, since a significant part of applicants leave the country before CONARE concludes its case – contributing to the overall obstruction of the system. Still in this domain, it is advisable to adopt a red flag system to indicate the most urgent cases that demand priority consideration.

Still regarding the visa concerns, it would be important to expand the provision of humanitarian visas as a less bureaucratic means than the asylum request, especially to assist migrants coming from regions with widely known humanitarian risks. Such an initiative would count with the knowhow accumulated with the provision of humanitarian visas to Haitians and Syrians over the past decade. A similar treatment could also include migrants coming from the DRC and northern Nigeria, since these regions have been facing an undeniable humanitarian crisis. These initiatives had a human-centred approach and facilitated the legal path for documentation, as well as reinforced the need for special protection of the individuals concerned. The applications for these visas should be free for applicants proving lack of economic resources. The proof of this insufficiency should not require too many documents, since many of these applicants would not have travelled with updated or detailed documentation.

Creation of an integrated plan specifying responsibilities, budget and goals

In every step of this plan to enhance governmental organisation in migration matters, it is important to stipulate very clearly the responsibilities of each government level and monitor its accountability to the whole team. A successful case in this regard is the São Paulo municipal decree that defines the obligations of each office of the city concerning migration. A national law governing this would bring stronger commitment to the cause and more stability to the actions, since this larger engagement would persist beyond different mandates. Having a fixed authority working in this organisation and national integration would make it less vulnerable to changes in government, enabling more sustainable and long-term plans.

To implement this integrated plan, it would also be necessary to assign a fixed budget and human resources for the agency centralising the efforts and ideally to the regional and local authorities dealing with the issue too. In the current structure, responsibilities for migration matters are diffuse among several agencies with unstable budget and oscillating resources, as well as

lacking specialised personnel (IPEA, 2015). Attributing a fixed budget and personnel for this issue would allow a more robust and long-term policy plan for migration in Brazil. If assigning a central budget for CNIg would not be feasible, an alternative would be to require each agency related to the issue to assign a specific budget and plan for migration issues in their agenda.

Finally, a national plan on this issue should also promote actions to prepare the personnel working in general public services to assist migrant users too. This includes training for staff about cultural diversities, documentation particularities and basic knowledge of key languages to assist this group in their initial phase. Since the structure, budget and staff for services specific for migrants are still very limited, it is important that these migrants might also access general services through other identities and demands that they might have (according to age, region of settlement, gender etc.), as previous chapters have underlined when discussing multiculturalism and Sen's ideas on multiple senses of belonging.

CONCLUSION:

Reflections on the context studied and its main contributions

When setting up the theoretical framework, the thesis dialogued with nuanced migration studies that overcome the prevalent binary between optimistic versus pessimistic views of the impacts of migration, such as DeHaas (2012), Petit (2007) and Castles (2014). It underlined that positive and negative impacts of migration often blend, and depend on the context and scale considered. Furthermore, it highlighted the need to shift the focus from the structural impacts of migration (i.e. on the economies of the destinations) towards the analysis of such impacts on the migrating individuals per se, since this scale captures individual experiences that are crucial to understand the migratory phenomenon. Still, it underlined that the individual focus adopted is not the one suggested by utilitarian theories, based on individual calculus aiming to maximise utility (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Lewis, 1954) - as these theories overlook crucial aspects such as an understanding of agency beyond economic calculus, the role of individual rights, and the importance of the migrant's personal identities in this process.

Therefore, the individual focus adopted in the thesis aimed to explore further the agency and freedom of migrants in processes of choice, as well as their awareness about their rights and their views about their identities when interacting with the new host society. To deepen the analysis of agency, fruitful insights were found in the Capability Approach (CA), since this is a core dimension in this framework, especially in Amartya Sen's line. To explore further the dimensions of rights entitlement, the thesis underlined how the CA brings relevant contributions especially when combined with insights from a Human Rights approach, such as in Seyla Benhabib and Saskia Sassen. To deepen the analysis of identities, the thesis underlined that Sen's (2007) reflections on identity freedom could be very fruitful and that hybrid-multiculturalism frameworks such as Peter Fry and Livio Sansone could even enrich it.

To analyse these dimensions, the thesis argued that the Brazilian case would bring relevant contributions. Firstly, Brazil's context presents a chance to deepen the analysis of agency in circumstances of constrained mobility, since it allows to examine migrants' freedom to choose preferred destinations and their reasons to choose a developing country like Brazil. Additionally, this case brings the opportunity to examine transnational claims for basic rights, as the particular asylum system in Brazil has been used by migrants in vulnerability to claim fundamental rights regardless of nationality criteria, and resignifying the very concept of asylum based on the universal

entitlement for basic socio-economic rights. Finally, the Brazilian case also brings the chance to expand possibilities in the formation of identities, since its unusual approach to multiculturalism allows us to think about new forms of identity and multiple ways to operate it in social interactions.

In order to further explore these dimensions of agency, rights and identities among migrants facing vulnerability in Brazil, a fieldwork study was held among Latin American and African migrants facing socio-economic vulnerability who were living in two charity houses in São Paulo city. The main research question of the fieldwork was “How do migrants facing vulnerability perceive changes in their lives after migrating to São Paulo?”, especially focusing on the changes related to the agency, rights and identity dimensions previously indicated. The fieldwork adopted a mixed method approach blending qualitative and quantitative enquiries within a capability framework, mainly inspired by Hodgett and Clark (2011). A brief focus group and preliminary observations were followed by interviews with 120 migrants living in these two charities, from which 100 interviews were considered in the final sample to be analysed. The questionnaire was based on four subsidiary questions that helped to build an answer to the main one. The first subsidiary question was, ‘How much agency did interviewees have on their migration choice and why did they choose Brazil?’. The second was divided, with the first part enquiring ‘Which things interviewees have reasons to value in what they consider ‘a good life’?’, followed by the related/subsequent part, ‘How has migration affected the capabilities related to the things they have reasons to value?’. The third subsidiary question was, ‘How do interviewees perceive their rights to have a decent life, regardless of the place?’. Finally, the fourth question was, ‘How do interviewees perceive and operate their personal identities in the social interactions they have in the new city?’.

Regarding the dimension of agency in the migration decision, the main effort was put into understanding interviewees’ main reasons for migrating to Brazil. A key finding in this respect is that most of the reasons for migrating and for choosing Brazil specifically relate to abstract domains associated to opportunities and prospects. Only a very small minority of the sample mentioned material domains such as searching for higher salaries or better infrastructure. Such a scenario dialogues with tendencies indicated by Preibisch, Dodd and Su (2016), also pointing a strong weight of immaterial reasons and abstract values in individual aspirations concerning migration. Still, the case study brings an even more detailed contribution in this direction, as it further explores the dimension of cultural aspects that individuals associate with the destination - suggesting that these people were not only attracted by broader prospects and opportunities, but also by cultural characteristics of the destination that they had reasons to value. Such findings also reinforce the suitability of the Capability Approach for this case study, as the CA emphasises the dimension of

values and expectations, examining other layers of development that go beyond incomes and resources, as explained in the initial chapter.

This predominance of immaterial reasons was particularly insightful considering the developing context of Brazil. Since the country faces the structural difficulties and instabilities of a developing country, some obstacles could already be expected by migrants in this material dimension. Certain concrete problems in this domain which they related to the place of origin, such as lack of jobs, political corruption, insecurity, low salaries or lack of infrastructure, could also be expected in Brazil – although with less intensity than in the poorer places of origin. Still, Brazil appeared to be a suitable destination since these material dimensions did not seem to be their main concerns and priorities. In this direction, Brazil could also be seen as a suitable alternative to minimise risks. Key studies underlining this risk minimisation (Abelson & Levi, 1985; Gubert, 2002; Guilmoto & Sandron, 2001; Stark & Taylor, 1991) would argue that any destination with slightly better conditions (like Brazil in this case) would already be seen as a satisfactory option, without necessarily being optimal. In this direction, despite the non-ideal conditions of a destination, it is important to remind that migration might also be valued in itself. The very opportunity to search for a better life already has this strong intrinsic value, despite sub-optimal circumstances and outcomes, as underlined by Preibisch, Dodd and Su (2016). Interviewees have emphasised the importance of this very chance to explore a new place to try a better life, highly ranking this opportunity for a change and for the pursuit of personal improvement through new ways.

Besides examining these general reasons for migrating, the fieldwork has also analysed the specific motivations for choosing Brazil in particular. Certain facilities played an important role for some participants to choose Brazil, such as cultural/linguistic and geographical proximity - for individuals from Portuguese speaking countries and Spanish speaking neighbouring countries - as well as bureaucratic facilities, like the free mobility for citizens from the Mercosur trade bloc or the special humanitarian visas granted by Brazil for Haitians. Still, the predominant reasons for choosing the country were more abstract aspects such as hospitality, cultural diversity, opportunities and broader prospects. Overall, although interviewees chose Brazil under certain mobility restrictions (unlikely entrance into global North destinations) and economic constraints (since these individuals had limited resources to spend in the migration process), they do emphasise they had personal reasons to choose Brazil in particular. The main reasons were mainly based on ideas of cultural hospitality, an emergent and vibrant economy, and a place with equal opportunities and mixed cultures. These ideas had in common a considerable vagueness, reinforcing that important decisions can be taken not necessarily with well-informed thinking or complete control about the courses of action, as utilitarian views would expect. This scenario is

reinforced by interviewees' little knowledge about basic features of the destination, such as approximate estimations about the population and minimal salary or who was the president/ideology in charge in that destination.

Such a context is associated to actions not entirely premeditated nor strongly reflected upon, dialoguing with Näre's highlights to migrants' ad hoc decision making with considerable reliance on chance (2014). In situations of social change, such as moving to a new society, it is difficult to judge among paths of action, since habitual practices might not be applicable in these unknown conditions. Most interviewees acknowledged that migrating to Brazil did not require exceptional skills or credentials, only the means and capabilities to buy a ticket and a tourist visa. Although the judgement of possible trajectories (based on previous habits) is a relevant feature of agency, migration contexts involve new circumstances - and this requests the capacity to behave in new ways. To examine such a context, the CA's concept of agency is particularly suitable, since it allows us to examine how individuals use their existing capabilities in creating new ways of action.

This view of agency rethinks key bodies of literature tending to a dualism that sees migrants from poor backgrounds as either self-supporting agents or victims (of globalising forces, employers and smugglers), as mentioned in the initial chapter. The thesis has underlined the need to focus not so much on the classic Social Sciences dilemma between structure and individual (Archer, 2003; Callinicos, 2004), but mainly on how to understand agency in this context, which might present a continuum beyond this dualism 'victims of structures' versus self-standing agents. This continuum has varied dimensions of agency in times of multiple opportunities and constraints, as suggested by Näre (2014) based on the Capability Approach. In this continuum, even with limited resources, individuals can develop certain capabilities and put them into use - considering that agency involves not only action to change one's life, but also adaptation to existing situations. Behaviours in this direction were very common among participants, who acknowledged that they could not overcome some circumstances, but still took action to adapt to that situation according to their own values and aims - also taking action to use migration to gain new capabilities (operating mobility as a form of agency).

Thus, the main point of this thesis regarding the agency dimension was the proposition to consider agency in a continuum with different stages of resistance, action, reception and adaptation. The argument was that this view of agency best captures individual behaviour in circumstances of social change (such as the migration context addressed), since it takes into consideration elements that are crucial in this context, such as active reliance on chance and openness to new forms of actions when embracing the unknown. Concepts of agency focusing only on reflexivity and deliberation do not sufficiently account for these dimensions. The proposed

concept of agency for these situations, based on Sen's CA reflections, best considers the new forms of action required in situations of social change such as the migratory context.

Moving to the analysis of things that interviewees most had reasons to value (a core dimension to be considered on a study inspired by the CA), the thesis has shown that 'to work' was by far the most mentioned and emphasised. This might relate to the particular importance that finding a job had in the initial months, since it was pointed as a decisive start to build a whole new life in the city. There was an association between satisfaction with the job and general life satisfaction, reinforcing the importance of work among participants. In addition to that, the frequent mention of 'boredom', 'incompleteness' and 'inertia' were often associated with being unemployed - reinforcing interviewees' indication of 'having a mission' and 'feeling fulfilled' among the things they most have reasons to value in the work dimension.

The following thing that interviewees most have reasons to value was 'being healthy'. A key finding was that participants affirmed to use health services in Brazil much more frequently, especially owing to its gratuity, since the government in most of their countries of origin does not provide a free public health system. The evaluations of the Brazilian health system also tended to be very positive. However, it was acknowledged that this evaluation alone does not reflect the actual deficiency of the current public healthcare in Brazil, and was mainly based on the comparison with previous systems which were even more deficient. This reflects the phenomenon of adaptive preferences so referred in the CA, reminding that individuals tend to have expectations not necessarily according to optimal levels, but according to what they are familiar and/or what they consider reachable.

Still in the things that interviewees most have reasons to value, 'being educated' was also remarkably often mentioned. A relevant finding in this domain was that, although participants tended to evaluate positively the education received in the place of origin and the courses attended in Brazil, the vast majority had a very weak performance when answering a simple calculation and basic information about the country of origin and Brazil. The poor performance regarding Brazil's basic facts can suggest that migration decisions might not be so based on well-informed calculus about the destination, reinforcing the suggestions raised in the section concerning agency and reasons to choose Brazil. Regarding education in the place of origin, frequent comments would relate the importance of education not so directly to information or formal contents, but to learning moral values, socialising, acquiring discipline and learning to respect authority. Therefore, education was valued especially for these ends in social life and related to personal improvement, and not simply for acquiring information. In a similar direction, education was highly valued even considering that higher educational levels were not translating in higher job positions or better

salaries in the place of origin, or in Brazil. Interviewees showed reasons to value education by its intrinsic relevance as means to acquire these social skills mentioned, that go beyond its effects on employability and formal measurable contents.

Finally, the other things that interviewees most had reasons to value were 'being independent' and 'enjoy family'. Regarding the first one, most interviewees commented that they do not consider themselves to be independent as they wish, since they were still strongly depending on CRAI and Missão Paz's support, but they would also value this aid precisely as a crucial help to achieve independence soon. In respect to 'enjoy family', this could not be achieved so promptly in the new society (as most interviewees were not able to bring their families) - reflecting the thesis's previous discussions on choices as more than simply means to maximise utilities (Sen, 1993), since in cases like this one, other commitments might be more decisive for personal choices than the maximisation of personal gains.

Many of these things that interviewees had reasons to value are associated with fundamental rights expected for a decent life, such as being healthy, respected and educated (UDHCR, 1948; UN, 2015). A key finding in this direction is the frequent comment that the places of origin were not providing the minimum conditions for a decent life to which participants felt entitled. This sense of entitlement reflects a growing idea of 'international legal personality' (Soysal, 2012) following the increasing awareness about human rights in the global scenario - if not necessarily in practice, at least in conceptual terms (UNDESA, 2015). The interviews showed a common claim for minimum welfare as universal right, regardless of nationality criteria - a context examined through the CA contributions regarding socio-economic rights and the insights on new forms of citizenship from Seyla Benhabib and Saskia Sassen.

A core discovery of the fieldwork related to these notions of transnational rights was in the particular context of asylum seeking in Brazil. Without many alternatives in the current visa categories or flexibility in this issue, migrants facing vulnerability in Brazil have increasingly used the asylum system of the country to remain documented, at least while they wait for their case to be judged and seek a job or course that would grant a visa. In the Brazilian asylum system, every migrant is entitled to request asylum, regardless of eligibility according to the Refugees Convention (UN, 1951), and the waiting protocol is accepted as a formal document and allows migrants to use any public service and apply for jobs as a national citizen (UNHCR, 2016a). Although most of these applicants do acknowledge they would not be eligible according to these formal international rules, they do justify that their background of poverty and lack of opportunities would also need support abroad. Such justifications bring fruitful insights to rethink the very concept of a refugee, since the definitions of 'economic migrants' facing severe vulnerability can often blur with the instability and

precariousness faced by refugees formally recognised, as indicated by Long (2015). In recent studies about contemporary migration to Brazil, such as Severo (2015), Morêz (2009) and Waldely, Virgens and Almeida (2014), there are cases of violations of basic socio-economic rights which are also seen as fundamental rights.

In this notion of 'socio-economic asylum', it is possible to identify an idea that basic rights involve not only political and civil liberties, but also socio-economic rights that guarantee a minimal condition for a decent life. Such an idea implies that the pursuit of the life that one values is hindered not only by lack of civil and political liberties (as acknowledged by the formal definition of asylum), but also by severe socio-economic deprivations. This contributes to reinforce the CA emphasis on basic socio-economic conditions for the realisation of fundamental rights. Since applicants need to reinforce the pertinence of their asylum request, they increasingly claim for this minimum welfare as a basic right to which they are entitled, regardless where they would be. The fieldwork findings in this domain dialogue with the growing tendency to vindicate migration as a legitimate way to achieve such socio-economic rights, as underlined in Benhabib (2009), since lacking such rights can be as damaging as lacking fundamental rights.

References to socio-economic rights were also frequent in interviewees' narratives about public services in Brazil, with positive comments about the equal free access they have to these services as any national citizen. Special emphasis was put on a view of healthcare not as a product but as a right for all, reinforcing this notion of basic support as something they were entitled to, and not as a mere privilege or an act of benevolence. The right to access to the State conditional cash transfer Bolsa Família was also highly praised. Such assistance regardless nationality criteria dialogues with Benhabib's (2004) views on the importance to include everyone in the *demos*. The sense of entitlement for this basic assistance and rights was strongly present when participants commented on their decision to migrate, seeing migration as an act of pursuing the practice of these basic rights. This context dialogues with the CA discussions on minimal demands of wellbeing - in the form of functionings, such as not to be hungry - and wellbeing freedom, in the form of capabilities, such as having the means to avoid hunger.

It was also reminded that the basis for claiming these rights for minimum welfare transcends nationalities, since it derives from the recognition of the universal statute of every human being (Sen, 2003; Sassen, 2000). The notion of basic rights and freedoms precedes the national divisions as they are today, and so the completion of these rights cannot simply be left to nation-state criteria, as Nussbaum (2006) highlights in the CA. The thesis has underlined how Sen, Nussbaum, Sassen and Benhabib all underline this unsuitability of the current nation-state model to embrace all criteria of citizenship, also emphasising the transnational nature of fundamental rights.

Following this direction, Chapter 6 has argued that democracies embracing international agreements on human rights, such as the case of Brazil, would be expected to guarantee basic rights to all people, including non-nationals. Such a practice requires domestic institutions to have more flexibility, as pointed out by Nussbaum (2009) and Benhabib (2009), since the nation-state model of these institutions is gradually less adapted to current global demands, as Sassen (2010) highlights.

This thesis has advanced the CA discussions in this direction by adding Sassen's analysis of how economic globalisation has been reshaping territorialities, nation-state sovereignty and the ideas of citizenship associated to them. As global companies and financial markets use their global nature to create new conditions to nation-states, they acquire power over governments, gaining a sense of economic citizenship. The thesis has endorsed Sassen's ideas to empower individuals with this sort of global citizenship too, based on the global nature of human rights, which would also reinforce their entitlement to demand accountability from governments around the world. The senses of entitlement identified during the fieldwork seem to point in this direction, demonstrating an increasing demand for basic rights and accountability to a foreign government, grounded in a sense of global citizenship that entitle interviewees for such claims. The thesis has underlined how Benhabib can complement and enrich some of these suggestions of new forms of citizenship from Sassen, proposing a form where democracies engage above all with human rights and, based on that, renegotiate criteria of belonging. In such process, the concept of citizenship would be constantly rebuilt through communicative practices with those willing to enter the political community, respecting the diversity of different groups involved and prioritising human rights. This strongly dialogues with the CA emphasis on the importance of public reasoning in the discussions of human rights and diversity (Nussbaum, 2006; Sen, 2009). Such a tendency could be identified in the initial phase of the process for elaborating the New Migration Law in Brazil, with open discussions, public consultancies, horizontal evaluations and shared collaborations with both nationals and migrants. Nevertheless, the thesis underlined the regression of the final phase of this process, influenced by conservative shifts that weakened this participation and vetoed several points of the law project elaborated throughout this collaborative process, as described in the second chapter.

Shifting to the analysis of cultural identities and their role in social integration, a key finding was that the cultural liberty in this domain was also frequently mentioned among the things interviewees most have reasons to value - both in what they consider a good life, and when they comment on the reasons to choose Brazil. Since several interviewees come from places facing ethnic conflicts and formal persecution to certain minorities, they consider that moving to Brazil

brought an improvement in terms of this identity freedom and respect to differences. However, as mentioned in previous chapters, this positive view reflects more a comparison with severe previous experiences of discrimination than a scenario of deep respect of differences in Brazil. Still, their positive reference in this domain was not only to less discrimination, but also to the bigger possibility of interacting through multiple groups beyond national belongings.

In interviewees' comments about their routines there were recurrent references to interactions with groups besides compatriots, such as in religious practices, as well as use of general services not specially focused on support for migrants, such as women's healthcare or job placement focused on young people. This multiplicity of interactions was remarkable not only in participants' comments about their relations with Brazilians outside CRAI and Missão Paz, but also with other residents of these charities. Throughout the fieldwork observations, it was possible to notice spontaneous interactions among residents according to age, gender, language and several other characteristics besides nationality or ethnicity. There was a noticeable interaction among francophones from different countries through the link of the shared language, as well as among Latin Americans chatting about relatives with a shared cultural background in this domain, and among Muslim residents from very different countries sharing some familiarity regarding this religious dimension. Spontaneous reunions according to age were also remarkable, with young residents from different countries gathering around football matches on the TV hall or sharing headphones to listen to music on their mobile phones, while the older group would gather during the mornings to discuss the news or to share advice on job searches. The women with children from different countries and ethnicities were also much closer to each other through common maternity tie.

The thesis has argued that such interactions are a key step to stimulate multiculturalism as a constant interaction of multiple identities that individuals can operate, according to their preference in each context, as Sen (1999; 2007) suggests. It has underlined the importance to guarantee this freedom for the person to choose which group to interact with, and through which senses of belongings - not being limited to her national group, since her identity cannot be constrained to that aspect only. Each person practises this freedom when reflecting on how to engage with a received behaviour pattern and deciding which priority to give to certain identities (political, intellectual, religious, etc). The thesis underlines Sen's (2006) contributions in this domain through his emphasis on the person's reflection and choice above her inherited tradition. It has also highlighted that this identity freedom has not been entirely considered when a multiculturalist guideline was prevalent in the Netherlands, Germany and England (Castles, 2014; Sansone, 2003), prioritising national belongings that would not necessarily be the main identity that migrants

would embrace in every situation. Additionally, they presumed a certain homogeneity inside a migrant group that is not compatible with their actual internal diversity, since a migrant group is hybrid per se (Cuche, 2009).

Cultural practices of migrants and their descendants often present multi-ethnic and post-ethnic features that are not sufficiently covered in a traditional view of multiculturalism, as explained previously. The thesis has argued that relevant insights to rethink this view can be found in the idea of hybridism developed throughout Brazil's migration history. This hybridism was constructed not because the policy guideline aimed to embrace as much diversity as possible, but mostly because it wanted to avoid the image of a predominantly black population after slavery abolition and avoid an ethnic fragmentation that could lead to unrests (as described in chapter 2). Still, this effort ended up constructing a particular scenario where ideas of identities were built through belongings beyond nationality criteria, especially associated with criteria of class (Bosco, 2017). The particular combination of an idea of national identity as melting pot, with policies combating isolation of migrant communities and with socioeconomic inequality surpassing ethnic fragmentation, built a sense of multiculturalism in Brazil that is profoundly different from the traditional foundational view of multiculturalism.

The thesis highlighted that these foundations of multiculturalism reflected a modernity process underway in Western rich countries with gradual stages of modernisation following each other (Seyferth, 2002), whereas in much of Latin America (and particularly in Brazil) different degrees of modernity were accumulating simultaneously (Quijano, 1989). The thesis's sections in this domain have highlighted that the phenomena of universalism, racism, cultural particularities and new forms of identities often appear together in the Brazilian case, as Sansone (2003) explains. Therefore, the frameworks to understand diversity in this emerging country can not be based on Western contexts where there was a tradition of politically organised diversity and inter-ethnic conflicts, or where ethnic sentiments were more constantly manifested. It was argued that, although Brazil has a strong multicultural feature - which refers to a status, this is not the same as being multiculturalist - which refers to an ideology. This dialogues with Sansone's idea about the possibility to have multicultural practices without necessarily having multicultural awareness or multicultural theories. This view questions the universality of the national and ethnic sentiments as priority in the formation of identities, dialoguing with Sen (1999, 2007).

Therefore, the thesis proposes that national and ethnic identities should not be seen as immanent or natural, but as discursive processes that might emerge and change intensity according to the context, dialoguing with Fry (2000), Sen (1999, 2007) and Sansone (2003). In this direction, it was argued that multiculturalist practices are better examined in their own context and

contingency, and not through an unique sense of multiculturalism that would be applicable worldwide. For certain contexts, the emancipation of a subordinate migrant-descendant group might be better pursued through identity policies associated to recognition and differentiation (Doytcheva, 2005). For other contexts, this emancipation can be pursued through practices referring to other identities that individuals from this group might have - such as initiatives for women, young people, individuals of low income, black descendants more generally, etc.

Considering all these reflections, the thesis reached a final chapter discussing policy prospects, following the human-centred perspective of its theoretical framework presented in the initial chapter, and taking into account the main findings, demands and challenges observed in the fieldwork. The main reflections of this chapter were presented to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice for the implementation of the New Migration Law in the country, within my part of a study for the International Organization for Migration published in 2017. This was an effort to make the most important demands and complaints reach key stakeholders in the field, trying to stimulate concrete measures to tackle the challenges observed, in line with a human-centred framework.

This final chapter started with a summary of the main difficulties observed in the fieldwork. It underlined that the most mentioned difficulties were in the dimension of work, in several stages, from lack of vacancies to difficulties in the searching process. In this and more general domains, the language barrier was highlighted, since it has not been rapidly tackled by the free Portuguese courses currently provided, or smoothed by a prepared staff in public services that would be trained to deal with this. This mapping of the main difficulties also underlined the challenges with documentation, especially the lack of visa categories that could provide alternatives for remaining documented in Brazil without overflowing the asylum request system, as well as lack of awareness among employers about the validity of the asylum request as an official document that allows the migrant to work. Another difficulty observed was the bureaucracy to validate foreign educational certifications, hindering the job placement of migrants according to their expertise. The final chapter addressed these domains and related dimensions, following a human-centred approach that takes migrants' expectations, fundamental rights and individual development into consideration, as explained in the initial chapter and in the fieldwork.

With this human-centred perspective, the policy recommendations emphasised the importance to consider migration beyond market demands, also paying attention to the agency of migrants in their pursuit of the things they value, as well as in their rights claims and social interaction, following contributions from Benhabib, Sen and Fry in these domains. In line with the Capability Approach, the recommendations follow a perspective of development beyond economic growth, considering development as the expansion of the opportunities that people have to pursue

the lives they have reasons to value. Labour inclusion was a predominant domain in the recommendations because it was the point most emphasised by interviewees, as well as indicated by them as the area that has most affected their development in the new host place more generally. Still, the chapter's perspective of labour inclusion did not prioritise the market's demands to the detriment of the expectations of the individuals involved - instead, it focused on the main needs in the labour domain for migrants to pursue their individual development. The final chapter also underlined how this labour inclusion relates to a broader social integration and how it contributes to build autonomy for this migrant in the new place - which might reinforce her agency in the further pursuit of a good life. In this direction, the final chapter indicates initiatives mainly for stimulating the active role of migrants in their pursuit of a good life (dialoguing with the agency dimension); for promoting their labour inclusion in decent conditions and in line with the protection of their rights; and for stimulating their social integration in accordance to their cultural liberty. Thus, it addresses the core topics of the previous chapters. Campos (2015) had underlined the lack of studies in such a human-centred perspective regarding the current migration scenario in Brazil, so the chapter aimed to fill this gap and advance the related debates.

The recommendations considered the main difficulties identified during the whole year of fieldwork in Brazil, not only in interviewees' narratives but also in the general observations in CRAI and Missão Paz, as well as in several events involving government representatives, NGOs, migrants' associations, international organisations and academics in this field. Some of the core recommendations were to optimise communication among the three main levels of government (national, regional and municipal); to engage migrants in community councils for more direct channels with local government; to treat cases of migrants in irregular jobs as a labour issues and not a criminal issue; and to create more employability channels (free training, contacts with employers, CV database, etc). Other initiatives suggested are the regulation of migrants' possibility to apply for vacancies in the public sector; incentives for the private sector to engage more in hiring migrants; training for staff in general public services to deal with migrant users' special needs; and boosting migrants' integration in areas demanding their skills. Finally, additional recommendations were to offer training and incentives for boosting entrepreneurship among migrants; to value and highlight among local public the social contributions brought by migrants; and to promote labour inclusion in decent conditions and with full protection of rights. The final chapter has not only indicated these initiatives, but also pointed the main challenges that are likely to be faced, and the existing capacities that can be used.

The momentum in Brazil was particularly propitious for recommendations of concrete actions, since the new migration law had just been approved and demanded this guideline for

being implemented. Though this law faced setbacks, it is still more aligned with a human rights mindset than the previous legislation (as explained in Chapter 2). Therefore, it is crucial to guarantee that such a line will guide the implementation phase too, promoting initiatives that would consider not merely the advantages for Brazilian economy, but also the individual development of migrants and their agency in the settlement process. This requires a serious engagement from policy makers but also from NGOs, migrants' associations, private companies, international organisations, academia and the media, since all these stakeholders influence the general treatment given to the migration issue. The human-centred line proposed throughout the thesis presumes dealing with migration not as a matter of pure management and surveillance, but of inclusion and opportunities.

Since this thesis had a limited sample, owing to constraints of time and logistics, it cannot be generalised to represent the whole current flows of migrants in vulnerability in Sao Paulo or Brazil. Such limitations were acknowledged since the very beginning of the research planning and were underlined throughout the thesis. Still, the findings can stimulate new studies with larger samples and even researches that would follow the same interviewees for a longer period, in order to capture important changes in their perceptions and expectations. Further studies could advance the debate comparing the findings of this thesis with the context of migrants in vulnerability living in other Brazilian cities, and/or with migrants who are not counting with such an important support as CRAI and Missao Paz provide. This would bring important contributions to understand different levels of vulnerability and to think on the constraints they might impose for agency, rights entitlement and social relations, as well as to other key spheres that were not the main focus of this thesis.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated the importance of addressing the impacts of migration on the individuals migrating per se, especially in the domains of their agency, rights and integration. It has shown that the Brazilian context has particularly useful insights to reflect about these domains, presenting a relevant case to examine individual agency in migration choices, to advance the debates on transnational rights, and to address social integration through new forms of identity. To analyse these domains in a fieldwork study held with 100 migrants facing vulnerability in São Paulo, the thesis used a theoretical framework inspired by Sen's Capability Approach, adding contributions from the rights-based approach of Benhabib and Sassen, as well as from a hybrid multicultural approach from Fry and Sansone. Based on the main demands and difficulties observed in this fieldwork, the thesis has also indicated important initiatives that could contribute to tackle these challenges.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire applied in the fieldwork interviews:

Introduction Block - Personal characteristics (for contextualisation of the case study)

0.a- Name:

0.b- Gender: ()Female ()Male ()Other:

0.c- Age:

0.d- Nationality:

0.e- Documentation status:

0.f- Educational level

0.g- Employment status:

0.h- Income status: ()unemployed ()employed with contract ()informal work ()self-employed

()other:

0.i-Income source: ()fixed salary ()informal sales ()State support ()family support

0.j-Amount of income per month:

0.k- Do you have relatives/friends depending on your income? If yes, how many individuals?

Block I - Agency in the migration choice

(relating to subsidiary research question 1 on agency in migration choices and reasons to choose Brazil)

→ **I.a-** Please mention the main difficulties of your place of origin that made you leave.

I.a1- Could you please comment further on each of them?

→ **I.b-** Please mention the main things about Brazil that attracted you to migrate here.

I.b1- Could you please comment further on them?

→ **I.c-** Please mention other countries that you considered to migrate.

→ **I.d-** Please mention the main reasons why you chose to migrate to Brazil.

I.d1- Could you please comment further on those reasons?

Block II – Ideas of a good life and capabilities to pursue it

(relating to subsidiary research question 2a on what participants value in their view of a good life)

→ **II.a.** Please mention the most important things in what you consider a good life.

→ **II.b.** Please mention the means and conditions you consider necessary to achieve this good life.

→ **II.c.** Please indicate how often you used health services in the place of origin.

II.c.1. Please indicate how often you use health services in São Paulo.

(relating to subsidiary research question 2b on migration effects on capabilities to pursue valued things)

→ **II.d.** How do you evaluate health services in your place of origin in the following scale

(☐)Very bad (☐)Bad (☐)Medium/regular (☐)Good (☐)Very good

II.d.1. Could you explain further the reasons for this evaluation, please?

→ **II.e.** How do you evaluate health services in São Paulo in the following scale

(☐)Very bad (☐)Bad (☐)Medium/regular (☐)Good (☐)Very good

II.e.1 Could you explain further the reasons for this evaluation, please?

→ **II.f-** Describe your main habits in the daily routine you used to have in the place of origin.

→ **II.g-** Describe your main habits in your daily routine in São Paulo - open question

→ **II.h-** How many meals did you use to have per day in your place of origin? (☐)1 (☐)2 (☐)3 or more

II.h.1- How many meals do you have per day in São Paulo? (☐)1 (☐)2 (☐)3 or more

→ **II.i.** How often did you use to exercise per week in your place of origin?

(☐) never (☐)1-2 times a week (☐)more than 3 times

II.i.1- How often do you exercise in São Paulo?

(☐) never (☐)1-2 times a week (☐)more than 3 times

→ **II.j-** Would you say you sleep more, equally or less in São Paulo than in your place of origin?

→ **II.k-** Please describe your main leisure activities in your place of origin.

II.k.1- Please describe your main leisure activities in São Paulo.

→ **II.l-** Would you say that in your job in São Paulo you have more, equal or less autonomy than in your job in the place of origin?

→ **II.m-** Is your monthly income in São Paulo higher, similar or smaller than in your place of origin?

→ **II.n-** About your job in the place of origin, would you say you used to be:

() not satisfied at all () not satisfied () medium/regular () satisfied () very satisfied

II.n.1-About your current work in São Paulo, would you say you are:

() not satisfied at all () not satisfied () medium/regular () satisfied () very satisfied

Block III- Perceptions about basic rights across borders

(relating to subsidiary research question 3 on notions of rights entitlement)

→ **III.a-** Please mention the main obstacles that hinder a person to achieve a decent life.

→ **III.b-** How did the State in your place of origin influence the possibility of achieving a decent life?

3.b.1- How does the Brazilian State influence the possibility of achieving a decent life?

→ **III.c-** Did you expect to have minimal protections and basic conditions after migrating?

(If yes, which protections and conditions were these?)

→ **III.d-** What are your rights in Brazil? Are they the same as those of Brazilians?

Block IV- Social interactions and cultural liberty

(relating to subsidiary research question 4 on social interactions and notions of identities)

→ **IV.a-** Please indicate any support received from relatives/friends to migrate and to settle in.

→ **IV.b-** Please describe your social interactions in São Paulo.

IV.b.1-Would you say you interact more with Brazilians, with compatriots, with migrants from other nationalities, or equally?

→ **IV.c-** Please describe your main perceptions and opinions about your new life São Paulo.

→ **IV.d-** Would you say you feel or face discrimination here? Why and how?

Extra block (general insights)

- A- How do you often feel here in São Paulo?
- B- Which mark would you give to your current life in Brazil (how is your satisfaction about this life)?
- B.1- Please comment further on the reasons for giving this mark.

Consent form given to interviewees:

Consent form

Information and Purpose: The interview for which you are being asked to participate in, is a part of a PhD research in Development Studies at the University of Cambridge examining the social inclusion of immigrants in Brazil. The purpose of the thesis is to gain a better understanding of the reasons that motivated migrants to move to Brazil, their strategies to search for employment, as well as the impact of their personal networks and their aims regarding social mobility in Brazilian society.

Your Participation: Your participation in this study will consist of an interview lasting approximately one hour. You will be asked a series of questions about your life such as motivations to migrate, income, educational level, personal networks and access to services, as well as questions concerning your recent experiences in Brazil. You are not required to answer all the questions, so you may pass on any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. At any time you may notify the researcher that you would like to stop the interview and your participation in the study. There is absolutely no penalty for discontinuing participation.

Benefits and Risks: The benefit of your participation is to contribute information to the academic community about social inclusion of immigrants in Brazil. This may assist academics, policy-makers, NGO leaders and companies' directors to structure their assistance to migrant workers. There are no risks associated with participating in the study.

Confidentiality: The interview will not be recorded, only registered in notes. Your name and identifying information will not be associated with any part of the written report of the research. All of your information and interview responses will be kept completely confidential. The researcher will not share your individual responses with anyone other than the research supervisor Dr. Flavio Comim from the University of Cambridge (UK).

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact the researcher Aline Khoury (ak931@cam.ac.uk or +444 7481 962443). By signing below I acknowledge that I have read and that I understand the above information. I am aware that I can discontinue my participation in the research at any time.

Full name: _____

Signature_____ Date_____